NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

The National Municipal Review

goes to all members of the National Municipal League. Those who do not desire to become members of the League may subscribe to the REVIEW by paying five dollars a year in advance; Canadian subscription rate \$5.25; foreign \$5.50; single copies 50 cents.

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The League's Business

National Conference on Government to Be Held in Boston November 22-24

THIS year's National Conference on Government will be held in Boston November 22, 23 and 24, the three days before Thanksgiving.

Headquarters will be at the Hotel Statler, which is unusually well equipped for handling conventions.

This will be the League's third conference in Boston, the other two having been held in 1902 and 1924. The 1902 conference heard addresses about deplorable and encouraging developments from many cities, on franchise problems, Massachusetts charter legislation and on uniform municipal accounting.

At the 1924 meeting the experts and civic leaders were digging into problems which still are acute, only more so: regional planning (with special reference to street traffic and transportation), governmental research, the government of metropolitan areas, home rule and the Boston charter.

Among the speakers in 1924 were Mayor Curley of Boston, C. A. Dykstra, Charles A. Beard, Lent D. Upson, A. Lawrence Lowell, Frank L. Polk, Thomas H. Reed, Richard S. Childs, as well as others who remain active in civic affairs.

Boston is an ideal spot for the 1948 conference. Boston and New England are active laboratories for a number of problems with which the League is concerned.

The 1948 program will probably stress state-local relations, extension of the council-manager plan, more effective handling of metropolitan area problems, civic education, among other matters.

New England leads in the adoption of the council-manager plan. The Plan E campaign for Boston and the growing interest in the manager plan in medium and small sized towns present practical problems of legislation, administration and citizen participation which are crucial to the continuation of the present trend.

The Boston area presents the problems of the metropolis in their most acute and obvious forms and there has probably been as much thinking in and around Boston about the possible alternative methods of meeting these problems as anywhere in the country.

Recent events have dramatically highlighted the importance of more effective civic education, both as an affirmative measure and as a means of avoiding hysterical alternatives which may be far worse than civic indifference and ignorance which have long been decried.

Other questions, including crucial problems of state and municipal finance and the need for modernizing state constitutions probably will be included.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Retooling State Government

ANY Americans are driving around in ramshackle pre-World War II cars that are becoming more and more unreliable, dangerous and costly to operate. Generally speaking, it isn't their fault that new cars aren't being made fast enough and the prices of the ones coming off the lines are too high for many to pay.

At the same time most states are trying to conduct their business with ramshackle pre-World War I administrations which, despite occasional repairs, are unreliable, dangerous and costly to operate. But there is less excuse for this than

There is no mystery about what its needed to provide a state with a modern system of public administration. Experience has developed practical, tested principles which are free to any state with the will to apply them. Reorganization doesn't have to wait for new models or for a lot of extra dollars to pay an increased price. In fact, it's one way, in a period of rising costs, to get more for the tax dollar.

Here are some of the lessons of experience which any state continues to ignore at its peril:

(1) A state administration divided among a hundred or so separate departments and agencies makes no sense. Nobody can keep track of it, "manage" it, coordinate its activities or vouch for its fidelity and competence.

- (2) The business of a state rates a genuine chief executive but in most states the constitution and laws which pretend to give the governor the responsibilities of a chief executive forbid him the necessary powers and tools. It's no wonder that Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan said he had the lousiest job in the state.
- (3) The chief executive of any business as big as that of a state needs a well trained professional staff to help with the planning, fiscal, personnel and other "house-keeping" tasks of management. The staff of the typical governor's office looks more like that of the head man in a third-rate travelling circus than, say, that of a commanding general with comparable administrative responsibilities.
- (4) Legislatures have too much to say about the details of administrative organization and procedure and about who shall have what jobs, and too little influence in keeping the administration on its toes. John Adams once said that, if any considerable part of the executive power is left with the legislature, it will corrupt it "as necessarily as rust corrupts iron or as arsenic poisons the human body." He added, "And when the legislature is corrupted, the people are undone."

The people are sure to be undone when a legislature interferes with executive appointments and other details of administration because such action wastes time, tempts members to scramble for favors and patronage, stymies attempts by the administration to improve its own organization and methods, obscures lines of responsibility and confuses the public.

The trouble with a good many socalled reorganizations of state government is that they have been less than halfway measures which violated all or most of the tested principles of sound organization.

Of course, every bureau would like to be left undisturbed in its pleasant rut. Of course, no senator wants to be deprived of a single bit of patronage. Of course, no department head wants to be abolished or reduced to a bureau chief. course, the society for the preservation of antique totem poles is nervous at the thought of an efficient administrator in place of the friendly little board which for years has clucking over been its precious charges.

Administrative reorganization must find a way to resolve or override such personal considerations in the public interest. Here, then, is the \$64 question: Does state government belong to all the people or is it just a collection of private clubs run at public expense for the profit or satisfaction of professional politicians, public employees and special interest clienteles? Once this question is answered correctly and firmly, the way to an up-to-date state government is fairly clear.

The administration would consist of a dozen or so departments built around the governor with heads chosen and removable by him. Practically all other public employees

would be members of a career service, not frozen into sinecures, but recruited, retained and promoted solely for competence. Boards and commissions would be confined to investigation, advice. rule-making and review. The governor would have enough professional staff assistance to keep him fully informed. relieve him of detail and enable him to concentrate on important questions of policy. Details of organization would be flexible, subject to change by executive order.

At the same time the legislature would be greatly strengthened. Through its own auditor it would have a continuous check-up on the financial operations of the state. As is being demonstrated in 22 states, a year-round legislative council with a permanent professional staff would enable it to display badly needed foresight and expertness in planning its program, keeping abreast of administrative action and preparing legislation. The legislature would become a more effective critic of administration for it would no longer be directly responsible for quesadministrative arrangements or appointments. It would be better able to withstand pressure groups. In the long run, all these circumstances would tend to attract and keep better men and women in the legislative halls.

A number of states have done or are now engaged in some important retooling of their executive and legislative establishments. Others should join them. And every state must raise its sights high if it hopes to survive in the competition which is steadily drawing power to the socalled higher levels of government.

First Civil Service Sheriff

New York official handles work for five counties, saves vast sums in six years and ends rich political boodle.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

McCLOSKEY is a good traditional name for a sheriff, but he keen-eyed, sandy-haired young sheriff of New York City is not the raditional type. He serves in place of five former sheriffs, since he manages the errands and mandates of the local courts in all five of the counties embraced within New York City. In a quiet and noticeably oclean carpeted office at the top of the massive Hall of Records, he does this with obvious competence and orderly efficiency—and without benefit of politics. Most remarkable of all, he was selected by careful written and oral civil service examinations from among 335 applicants-the only sheriff ever to be so selected in the United States.

Municipal offices in New York City had moved toward efficiency and businesslike atmosphere by steady process decades ago, and 99 2/3 per cent of their employees are under civil service now—out of of 160,000 only 446 are exempt. But none of this progress had reached into the political citadels

and spittoon traditions of the five county sheriffs' offices before January 1942.

Sheriffs were elective in their respective counties. The voters paid no attention to the contests for their offices and neither did the newspapers. So party leaders filled the obscure posts subject to perfunctory ratification at the polls as part of a long ticket.

In the days when "Al" Smith took the post in New York County, it was paid by fees and was reported to net something like \$50,000 a year to the occupant. It was at any rate a plum if the beneficiary could avoid dividing the proceeds too heavily with the political backers who put him there. When fees were made payable into the city treasury, however, the profits became deep annual deficits and political interest centered in patronage.

In 1936 Mayor La Guardia turned his investigators into this pasture and they came back with mud galore. In cool objective detail they related that there were 100 deputy sheriffs in the five counties who handled each month an average of three papers that required any work beyond simple filing; that came to, at most, fifteen hours of work monthly to earn \$2,000 to \$3,000 a year. And, lest he faint from toil, each deputy in most cases had an assistant! "The assistant deputies, if they work at all," said

^{*}Mr. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, is chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York and former president of the New York City Club. He is well known as the "father" of the council-manager plan. Organizer of the short ballot movement, he is author of numerous pamphlets and articles on the short ballot, the manager plan and other aspects of civic problems. Mr. Childs has retired from business to devote his time to public affairs.

the report, "do not need to spend more than five or ten minutes at their tasks."

Clerical payrolls were similarly loaded: a bond clerk "handles approximately ten papers per month, requiring little effort." Bookkeeping entries over 30 months were at the rate of seven per day per bookkeeper. In one division "at least 60 per cent of the employees have been unnecessary." The Bronx clerical division in 1934 and 1935 received on the average eight papers per day, a number which must have facilitated their equable division to the eight employees!

Political Appointments Rife

Appointments to such sinecures were commonly made by district leaders who, when their turns came, sometimes put their proteges on the payroll without even telling the the latter did not even sheriff: swear them in! Of the New York County office employees 75 per cent were party committeemen; 90 per cent in the Bronx, 68 per cent in Kings, 57 per cent in Richmond, and 39 per cent in Queens. In other words, the dominant party manned its organization thus at the taxpayers' expense and buttressed its tenure of power with 360 salaried workers.

Looking back 25 years to his younger days as an incumbent of the office, ex-Governor Smith testified: "I was sheriff myself and I was busy looking for something to do and, if it had not been for the war and the time I put in selling liberty bonds and war saving stamps and

seeing the boys off, I would have had nothing to do."

Edward J. Flynn, who became Bronx sheriff in 1922, tells in his recent autobiography how the 62 exempt jobs thus placed at his disposal provided him with such a grip on the party machinery of the county that he was able to announce his intentions to elect himself county leader in defiance of all other aspirants. And this he did and, by later admittedly utilizing similar exempt places in the district attorney's office and elsewhere, made his position as boss of the Bronx impregnable for 25 years.

A constitutional amendment in 1935, promoted by the Citizens Union, New York civic organization, released the five counties from the requirement of the state constitution that sheriffs be elective. That amendment, merely creating an option, had passed a statewide referendum without much visible opposition.

Then began the tough fighting to excise this obscure nest of patronage in the face of the self-interest of the incumbents. Ex-Governor Smith, who had long since outgrown his political schooling, teamed up with reform Mayor La Guardia to end the scandal, and the Citizens Union, League of Women Voters, taxpayers' associations and the press went to work.

Tammany saw the gathering cloud and proposed a phony reform that would have kept the patronage and had it distributed by certain courts which Tammany could reach and influence. That was blocked in the city council with the aid of some of the better Democrats. One initiative petition for submission of a charter amendment to the people was thrown out, properly enough, for insufficiency of good signatures in correct form.

Next year, a more determined attempt by the Citizens Union and other civic groups produced enough good signatures, but a four-to-three court decision threw out the petition on technical requirements not mentioned in the law but unexpectedly read into it by the court's interpretation.

The third year the civic groups went at it again; their volunteers, particularly those of New York's vigorous League of Women Voters, laboriously accumulated over 90,000 valid signatures, and the issue was at last qualified for submission at the next election (1941).

One Sheriff on Merit

Then, to muddy the waters, Tammany, acting through its majority in the city council, submitted two conflicting alternatives which were halfway measures of its own. The mayor and Al Smith, not usually faint-hearted in such battles, advised the people to vote "yes" on all three, letting the one with the highest vote take effect. The civic organizations refused to compromise and called for "no" votes on the phony substitutes. Their measure won.

The amendment established a single city sheriff to be appointed from a list chosen by competitive civil service examinations. Of the 335 persons who took the written

examinations about 40 qualified for the second stage oral examinations.

A special board consisting of Walter Frank of the Citizens Union, Adam Schneider, Jr., a Brooklyn banker, Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration, Thomas D. Thacher, former United States Solicitor General, and myself, a businessman, president of the City Club, sat for five days in private, addressing carefully identical questions to each candidate in turn and rating him on several weighted points.

A mathematical addition of our points to those won in the written examination—which were not known to us—determined the final standing of the competitors. There were at least ten whom we would have been very well content to see in the job. Under the law, the mayor had the power to choose one of the first three. He took John J. McCloskey, Jr., a lawyer then serving as deputy commissioner in the city department of investigation, and McCloskey took office on January 1, 1942.

The new sheriff's first duty was to restaff the service from new civil service eligible lists. This involved a clean sweep since, in the five sheriffs' offices, only one employee, a telephone operator, was a member of the competitive civil service and available for retention. Some of the old staff lingered to help him, but only one of the 100 deputies, despite their presumable experience, passed the civil service examinations. The requirement that they pass the same physical examination as rookie policemen was enough to discourage

most of the old deputies; their ability to chin themselves on a horizontal bar was not worth exhibiting!

It took six hectic months to complete the transition to a new high grade staff. Only one member, the sheriff's counsel, is exempt, a precise reversal of the old situation. The total payroll thus abruptly lost to the political machines was nearly \$1,000,000 a year.

Clerical staffs were sharply reduced. At the central office a chief accountant and a few clerks now operate the fiscal routines on a uniform basis. Under-sheriffs operate each of the five local county offices; the one in charge of the New York County office, which handles half the total business, is located next door to the sheriff and has power to act in the latter's absence.

The examinations for undersheriff and chief deputies, limited to members of the bar, brought in experienced young lawyers of top caliber and the educational pedigrees of the five incumbents include Phi Beta Kappas, summa cum laudes, an M. A. degree, a doctorate of juridical science and editor of the Columbia Law Review. Two are graduates of Columbia Law School. two of Brooklyn Law School and one of Harvard Law School. One man who had served for twenty years as assistant counsel in the office of one of the old sheriffs, an acknowledged authority on sheriff's law, qualified for retention.

In place of the 100 deputy sheriffs who served processes, etc., a force of 49 now does the work. They include 33 with college training.

Seventeen are lawyers. Comparable costs were immediately reduced \$300,000 a year; a \$650 cost-of-living salary raise all around has since reduced that gain.

The old sheriffs operated jails for criminals and transported prisoners to courts and state prisons. The reorganization transferred this whole function to the city's large department of correction. It became no longer legally necessary for deputy sheriffs rather than department of correction guards to be assigned to escort prisoners of certain classifications from cells over an enclosed bridge to courts across the street. Annual savings thus achieved have not been computed.

Study in Contrasts

Civil jails are still operated by the sheriff, but the five jails have been consolidated into two at substantial savings. In the interest of further economies and more efficient management, Sheriff McCloskey has recommended the erection of a new, modern jail so that the present two jails can be consolidated into a single one.

During the era of price controls, Sheriff McCloskey's staff took on added work in following complaints, gathering evidence and apprehending black market operators and dealers in foods who disregarded price ceilings. What a juicy and lucrative assignment that would have been for some of the old-time political deputies!

The old offices in the Hall of Records were a dingy warren of soiled rooms, flimsy partitions and dirty, paper-strewn floors. Most of the rooms were jammed, but for unknown reasons one room, the largest, contained only one man and one small counter. All were noisy with fidle men and political gossip. They have quiet, orderly business offices mow, and the housekeeping is appletiple.

The thing the sheriff is proudest of is the morale of the staff. He arranges training courses to perfect their understanding of the law and the regulations. He has secured passage of twelve laws to clear their duties of antique nonsense. The old

traditions of the office had to be lived down, and the 49 deputies had a thin time of it for a while.

Now they enjoy the bewilderment of clients who expect the arrival of a paunchy politico and find a well groomed, brisk and capable gentleman at their service. The clients hesitate to offer the gratuities that used to be customary, but they still sometimes do. The standard answer is, "Taking that could cost me my job but, if you consider you've been well served, drop a line to the sheriff about it."

You ought to see those letters!

Expertness Pays in Register's Office, Too

A register with city-wide jurisdiction, chosen after civil service examination, replaced four county registers on January 1, 1942, as the result of the same prolonged civic effort which brought in the civil service city sheriff in New York City.

An official investigation in 1941 indicated that the four elective county registers employed an excessive number of exempt employees (85) at an unnecessary expenditure of \$178,000. The report recommended modern photographic recording to save \$89,000 more, a 5 P.M. instead of 4 P.M. closing hour and savings in overhead to be facilitated by consolidation.

It also said: "In addition to a chief deputy register we find an assistant deputy register and a registrar. The duties of all three can well be performed by one if we accept their own testimony as to the work performed by each."

Most of the 318 employees, however, were in the competitive civil service and "performed their duties with normal competency." One high salaried appointee of the Brooklyn register was an important politician who was actually unable to read or write!

The new register and his deputy promptly realized in their first year savings of \$160,000 and went on to further steady improvements and economies. The 318 employees gradually dropped to 261 and then rose again with recently increasing volume of business; the number of instruments handled per employee went from 444 in 1942 to 766 in 1946.

Microfilm put into five little filing cabinet drawers certain files which in the old-fashioned libers took 56 feet of wall space, seven and a half feet high. The diverse procedures of the four counties were reconciled, modernized and made uniform, reducing by 75 per cent the number of printed forms in use.

The great volume of the recordations encouraged close study of methods and the register's third annual report is an exhaustive classic review of technical systems available for the economical management of all such offices where volume of business justifies. Some of the findings go beyond existing commercial devices, and two manufacturers have been induced to work up advanced models.

The "profits" (office fees less expenditures), aided by revival of real estate activity which provides two-thirds of the business, have risen in successive years from \$24,000 to \$117,000, \$185,000 and (in 1946) \$377,000!

The history of the new office affords a clear instance of the injustices

Politics Taken Out of County Clerks' Offices

About ten years ago, the Citizens Union and other civic forces in New York City got the state constitution amended to clear the way and then succeeded in getting the county clerks in the five counties within New York City made appointive by the Appellate Division of the two local state supreme court judicial districts. The courts appointed good men and the offices have been nonpolitical ever since. The incumbents serve for indefinite terms subject to removal by the appointing power.

The county clerk of New York County (Manhattan) recently issued a ten-year review of his administration, a story of high purpose, continuity of service and accomplishment. His first step was to eliminate a 30-year-old practice of some em-

inherent in New York State's mischievous veterans' preference law. Seventh on the civil service ratings for first appointment to the new post was Henry W. Ralph who, having qualified, automatically obtained the position by virtue of the fact that he had a service-connected disability. He appointed the second man on the list, Lewis Orgel, as his first deputy. Mr. Ralph having died recently. Mr. Orgel is acting register. The civil service list being over four years old, a new examination will undoubtedly expose Mr. Orgel to competition from other disabled veterans, including one or more of his present subordinates, any one of whom, by merely qualifying, will jump over his head to become register!

ployees of selling official information on business opportunities for printers, auctioneers, bonding companies, etc.

The Manhattan clerk took over the offices of commissioner of jurors and, later, commissioner of records and cut the exempt positions in half; in the latter case the halved staff does more work than was done before.

The old overworked list of jurors is replaced by bigger and better lists and the juror's time is conserved by transfer from court to court and by letting the juror choose the most convenient month. The renovated system of qualifying jurors has been extended to the other four counties. Jurors get their jury notices cheaply and more surely by mail instead of helping to pay for eleven summons servers to bring them to the door. Over 40 laws have been secured to correct obsolescent practices or reduce expenses.

Experts for the Lawmakers

Missouri Legislative Research Committee proves worth in difficult tasks and wins acceptance by General Assembly.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN*

Committee has carved a unique ciche for itself since its inception in 1944. Its prestige is such that the staff finds itself in the position of raving its overoptimistic budget requests doubled by the General Assembly.

The committee began work inauspiciously enough in January 1944 after having been established by the 1943 legislature. Most of 1944 was revoted to acquiring a research library and completing several routine tudies. The first anniversary of the committee's founding went unhersalded; at that point it was rapidly taking its perfunctory place alongside the 80-odd other state agencies.

On February 28, 1945, the people of Missouri adopted a new state constitution. All laws in conflict with it sexpired on June 30, 1946; hundreds of statutes hung in the balance. The 63rd General Assembly, then two months old, had already begun to discuss ways and means of adjourning at an early date to escape the onerous task of traveling between home and Jefferson City week after week at \$125 per month.

*Dr. Sparlin is assistant director of the Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis. He was formerly associate editor of Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, consultant to the Civil Service Committee of the United States House of Representatives, and special consultant to the Moreland Commission investigating New York State printing problems. Dr. Sparlin is author of various publications on governmental problems.

The full import of the assignment ahead exploded like a delayed-action bomb in the consciousness of the legislators some two or three weeks after February 28 when they reconnoitered a bit and realized the thousands of hours of tedious research and gruelling committee sessions necessary to fully implement the new constitution. They threw up their hands and went home.

Leaders of the Legislative Research Committee quickly capitalized on the bewilderment. Why not expand the staff of the committee with lawyers and researchers to handle the technical, time-consuming and unglamorous details of statute-searching and bill drafting? The legislature warmly embraced the idea. Funds were appropriated and the staff expanded from two to thirteen members. Revision work was divided among committees of the two houses and from one to three staff members assigned to each committee.

A good working relationship soon developed between legislative committee chairmen and technicians so that the optimum advantage could be taken of the experience and knowledge of the research worker while reserving the prerogatives of policy-determination to elected representatives

Traditions toppled when many legislative committees insisted that the technicians remain for executive sessions, always theretofore carefully reserved for members only. Staff members in turn justified the confidence placed in them by impassionately presenting the facts in executive session and stoically preserving the secret opinions expressed in their

presence.

By the time the last revision bill had been hustled off to the governor's office in June 1946 most members of the General Assembly were singing the praises of the Legislative Research Committee. More than once assurance that a bill had been prepared by the "Legislative Research"—as it came to be called—allayed prospective snipers. Baffling constitutional law questions vanished in the face of clarifying opinions of research people. The February 1945 insurmountable was trampled underfoot by June 1946.1

Appropriation Increased

When it came time to appropriate for 1946-47, the director of research of the Legislative Research Committee asked for \$45,000—which he thought ample—and the legislature appropriated \$65,000. The 1947-48 appropriation is \$110,000.

The 1945 General Assembly created a Children's Code Commission to make a study of problems of child welfare and report to the 1947 session. This commission of private citizens borrowed a Legislative Research Committee staff member to do much of the technical work.

In February 1947 a special house committee was established to investigate the state eleemosynary institutions. The chairman of the committee accepted the assignment on one condition: that the committee be allotted a full-time research technician. The staff member assigned to this committee attended all the hearings held over the state, questioned witnesses, inspected institutions, prepared the committee report and drafted necessary legislation. He had all the status of a committee member except the right to vote.

The State Department of Revenue began the installation of machine accounting equipment early in 1947. Being conscious of the frailties of political appointees and impressed with the intricacies of the machines, the department head requested the assignment of a Legislative Research Committee staff member to assist with the installation and carry the good work on into the next administration.

The Legislative Research Committee has rapidly become an information center around the capitol building. Questions and questionnaires too difficult for the recipient end up on the desk of the director of research.

The teachers' salary problem plagued the 1947 General Assembly as it did most legislative bodies in the country. The Missouri legislature decided, however, that teachers' salaries were not isolated from the problem of education in general and that decisions should be made on the whole problem. It created an interim joint committee to study the school problem and appropriated \$30,000 for the Legislative Research Committee to do the job. A number of prominent educators, lawyers and researchers were added temporarily to the staff to assist with the study.

¹See "Missouri Counties Streamlined," by Estal E. Sparlin, the Review, July 1946, pages 337-343.

A voluminous amount of data was collected and digested by staff memoers, legislators and citizens and a program developed for the 1948 sestion of the General Assembly. Committee hearings often generated flowery testimonials to the efficiency of the research workers.

Missouri's statutes must be revised in 1949 under the 1945 constitution. Heretofore they have been revised each ten years by a commission of legislators. The work was not well fone and was costly, so the new constitution prohibited the old system but left to the General Assembly the selection of a new method.

Revision of Statutes

A resolution passed by the 1947 General Assembly directed the Legislative Research Committee staff to prepare the revised statutes for the 1949 session. A sizeable appropriation was made for this work. Three full-time attorneys are at work on the task and technicians from outside the state have been called in to assist. It appears now that in 1949 Missouri will have the best revision of its statutes it has ever had since the Missouri Compromise made it a state. It is also probable that biennial revision will be instituted after 1949.

Missouri's state budgeting procedure is anemic even after reorganization under the new constitution. As a result, a staff member of the Legislative Research Committee spends substantially full time assisting the House Appropriations Committee during the fall before the General Assembly convenes and "day and night" on this work during the session. This arrangement still does

not give the state a good budgeting system, but it does alleviate the most serious shortcomings.

Credit for the success of the Missouri Legislative Research Committee goes primarily to the dozen or so legislative leaders who had confidence in the usefulness of such an agency and a resolution to keep it free of politics so it could function properly. Without the faithfulness of these leaders in the General Assembly the usefulness to Missouri of competent technicians would have been sterile.

Former Senator Francis Smith of St. Joseph, the committee's first chairman, is at or near the top of this list of leaders. Aiding and abetting him were such men as R. J. King, Randall Kitt, Floyd Gibson, M. C. Matthes, R. Jasper Smith, Murray E. Thompson, H. R. Williams and others.

From the beginning until June 30, 1946, Dr. Charlton F. Chute served as director of research and saw the committee through the crucial constitutional revision period. He was succeeded by William R. Nelson who had been on the staff and who combines the theoretical and practical in his experience to such an extent that the Legislative Research Committee has grown in usefulness and public esteem under his leadership.

Although the men involved deserve primary credit for the success of the work, the manner in which they proceeded and the principles they held to are also significant.

The first principle laid down when the committee was created was that bill drafting, library, and economic, legal and administrative research should all be under the same roof. The shortcomings of having two or three different agencies performing these functions, as in some states, were recognized at the beginning so that the statute charges the committee with the responsibility of maintaining a legislative library, doing the bill drafting for legislators and conducting research studies. All three are so closely tied together that one suffers without the others.

Last year a bill was passed making the Legislative Research Committee responsible for statutory revision but creating a revisor statutes independent of the director of research. The governor vetoed this bill for other reasons but he performed a real service for the committee because such an administrative arrangement would have caused endless conflict and duplication. After the veto the legislature adopted a resolution directing the Legislative Research Committee to revise the statutes, the work to be under the director of research.

No Political Interference

Thus far the committee has been free of political interference. It is composed of ten representatives and ten senators appointed by the speaker of the house and president of the senate, respectively. No more than six representatives and six senators can be from the same political party.

The first committee was composed of twelve Republicans and eight Democrats but a Democrat was elected chairman and re-elected for a second term. When he retired from the General Assembly last year the caucus agreed to name a Republican as chairman and a Democrat as vice chairman, but failed to deliver on

the latter promise. The two mer named, however, were so obviously well qualified, regardless of politics that no protest was registered by the Democrats.

Two staff members resigned in the summer of 1946 to run for political offices. After the campaign they both asked for reinstatement but were refused even though they were of the majority party.

In the four years since the committee was established only one staff member has been appointed for political reasons. Fortunately he turned out to be a drunkard and was soon fired. Only by holding steadfastly to the principle of appointing staff members on a professional basis can the committee maintain its present enviable reputation.

The committee has maintained a balanced staff of "generalists" rather than a complete assortment of specialists. At most times there have been lawyers, professional research people and practical administrators on the staff. By and large they have been people who have wider interests than their own particular specialty. The lawyers have been interested in political science, sociology and other fields: the researchers in constitutional and administrative law as well as statistics and economics; and the administrators in philosophy as well as the job description of a "Clerk 2."

Staff members have not been encouraged to specialize in any particular subject matter but have been shifted from project to project. When specialist assistance is needed it is brought in from the outside on a consultant basis.

(Continued on page 314)

Right About Face in Kentucky

State creates research commission amply financed after letting 1936 legislative council die for lack of funds.

By GLADYS M. KAMMERER*

ENTUCKY, after allowing its
Legislative Council to sink
into virtual desuetude, has decided
wo wipe the slate clean and start
cover with a new Legislative Research
Commission.

In his opening message to the 1948 General Assembly, the new governor, Earle C. Clements, took the lead in urging creation of facilities for legislative research. An administration bill to provide a Legislative Research Commission was hastily introduced and received wide support in the legislature. An ample appropriation—\$50,000 for the first year and \$75,000 thereafter—is provided in the act, establishing the commission on a basis never enjoyed by the Legislative Council.

The new commission, which comes into existence on June 17, consists of seven members: the governor who also acts as chairman, the president pro tem of the senate, the speaker of the house, and majority and minority floor leaders of the two houses. It will be both closely watched and carefully led by its chairman.

Four of the six legislative members belong to Governor Clements' wing of the Democratic party and will cooperate with him in all plans for the next legislative session. In effect, the new commission will probably resemble more closely a research and planning agency for the executive's legislative program than an instrumentality to enable the legislature to plan its own program.

The act provides for a permanent full-time director of research to be appointed by the commission. He must have had "graduate training in government in a recognized university or practical experience in governmental administration."

The act does not provide for regular meetings of the commission but leaves that to the commission to determine.

Students of government will be interested, when trying to assess the chances of success of the new commission, in ascertaining the causes of failure of the old Legislative Council. Its metamorphosis and decline may be attributed to the fact that Kentucky's legislators have until now shown little realization of the need for factual research in solving legislative problems. As a result they starved the council into a relatively useless appendage of the legislature, moribund long before it was officially buried this year.

History of Council

Originally the Kentucky Legislative Council was an integral part of the general program for reorganization of state government enacted in 1936 during the administration of

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Governor Albert B. Chandler. It was unique at the time in introducing executive representation on what was essentially a legislative arm. Indeed, the executive members gave it what strength it possessed during its early years.

The statute creating the council provided for fifteen members: five senators appointed by the lieutenant governor, presiding officer of the senate, five representatives appointed by the speaker of the house, and five officers from the executive branch appointed by the governor. The lieutenant governor and speaker were members ex officis and the governor an honorary member. The majority party in each house was allotted no more than three-fifths of the representation.

Meetings of the Legislative Council could not exceed twenty days in any one calendar year, but they were to be held at least quarterly. They could be called by the chairman, provided for by resolution of members, or scheduled upon written request of any three members. Compensation was ten dollars to each member for each actual day of attendance.

The council was originally empowered to employ a research director and assistants and to engage the services of research agencies to help in the study and formulation of a legislative program. But, more significantly, money was not appropriated to pay the salaries of a research staff, and the power to hire professional assistants was, therefore, meaningless.

Since 1936 the council has undergone significant changes in organiza-

tion. The first was an increase in the number of senate and house members to eight from each branch. In 1938 the speaker had apparently promised eight representatives places on the council without realizing that he had but five posts to fill. Therefore, he initiated the statutory change in order to fulfill his promises. The senate naturally demanded a like increase.

In 1943 the Republican party captured the governorship and all elective executive offices, but the Democrats retained their traditional majority in the General Assembly. One of the first moves made by the Democratic majority in the 1944 session was to lop off the council's administrative members, thus depriving the council of the last remaining research facilities available to the legislature.

The 1944 statute also rendered the council ineffectual in developing a legislative program by changing the frequency of meetings. Instead of meeting at least quarterly it was required to meet only on the second Monday in September preceding a regular session, which is also immediately preceding a regular election, and to remain in session not more than 60 days to prepare its program. If carried out literally, this stipulation would result in the preparation of the program for the new legislature by many "lame ducks" already defeated in the primary or retired under their own power.

Even though special sessions of the legislature might be called between regular sessions, the council was forbidden to sit more than 60 days in a biennium. Recommendations of the council were to be completed and made public 30 days before the opening of a regular session.

The experience of Kansas, Illinois, Maryland and other states which have established legislative councils points ineluctably to the conclusion that a competent research staff is essential to the effective functioning of a legislative council. The legislators themselves as the amateurs in government have neither the time nor training, to say nothing of the necessary objectivity, to marshall the facts bearing on legislative proposals. It was not, in fact, until Kansas obtained funds for a full-time research staff for its legislative council that the council began to operate with the notable success that led other states to copy this device.

Research Facilities

Research was never under the guidance of a permanent full-time director in Kentucky. The first director, who had the largest staff (eight persons) ever available for research, was a practicing attorney who also acted as a county attorney. The second director did not remain in his post because of lack of funds. Two others followed in rapid succession.

The staff thus became an ephemeral group from the first. It included one or two university faculty members who devoted spare time to legislative council work. Two of the original group besides the director were lawyers. Only two were qualified to do research in political science or economics.

The 1944 statute included a provision that the Legislative Council could request special studies to be made by state officers or departments including the state university and state colleges "within the limits of its appropriation." This was meaningless for the most part inasmuch as the university had no staff members it could afford to detail for extended periods. In fact, the state university was hard pressed for funds itself and needed every available faculty member to meet the mounting enrollment since 1944.

The legislature was niggardly in the appropriation of funds for research. In 1937-1938 it set aside only \$5,000 for this purpose. Just as it has done for other legislative councils, the Spelman Fund provided over \$16,000 for research in 1937-1938 on the premise that once the value of research was realized by the legislature adequate appropriations would be made to support it. That was a valid premise in both Kansas and Illinois but not in Kentucky.

The legislature tended to utilize the Legislative Council staff, when the latter existed, as a bill-drafting agency. When the legislators turned to the council staff at all, it was to request the immediate short-time drafting of legislation, not fundamental study of problems basic to the formulation of legislative proposals. Thus the legislature evidently failed to comprehend the purpose of employing a trained staff or even of the existence of the council itself.

Indeed, the council met infrequently and sporadically, and during the two administrations when the Democratic party controlled both the legislative and executive branches, it looked to the governor for the development of a legislative program.

As a matter of fact, during the first eight years the administrative departments did most of the research back of the legislative program. The presence of executive department heads on the council up to 1944 facilitated utilization of departmental staffs for special studies also. The 1944 act which stripped away the five department heads from council membership left the council floundering with no research facilities.

Struggle for Funds

To a few members of the General Assembly it was clear that the act of excising the executive members from the Legislative Council necessitated the building of an effective research agency to help the council if the latter were ever to formulate a comprehensive legislative program.

A bill introduced in 1944 would have required monthly meetings during the biennium of separate legislative commissions for the two houses beginning in April at the close of each session. This bill provided a "skilled and professional" staff to be financed by an appropriation of \$100,000 for the biennium.

A proposed mechanism for cooperation between the legislative commissions of the two houses was a joint subcommittee of which both the speaker of the house and the president pro tem of the senate would be members. The bill failed to pass the house. Instead, \$11,000 was appropriated to cover all costs of the Legislative Council, a sum barely enough to pay per diem expenses, particularly if the council met for the statutory limit of 60 days.

Again, in the 1946 legislature, the speaker introduced a somewhat sim-

ilar bill to create a Legislative Research Commission of eight members from each house, the speaker of the house and the president of the senate. This bill also provided for a research staff and an appropriation of \$100,000. One significant amendment adopted in the house reduced the size to three members from each house who would elect their own chairman. This time the bill passed the house only to meet defeat by being tabled in the senate.

Still undaunted, the speaker fought for an appropriation of \$100,000 in the 1946 legislature for the staffing of the existing Legislative Council for research activities. Again it passed the house but was lost in the senate.

The failure of the 1946 legislature to appropriate the \$100,000 item left the Legislative Council without any funds for 1947.

The fundamental reason for the failure of the 1944 and 1946 bills sponsored by the speaker was political. The lines had already been drawn for the 1947 gubernatorial election for which the speaker was clearly indicated as a candidate. The followers of his rival for the Democratic nomination, especially strong in the senate where his rival had been leader, were opposed to what they deemed to be a device to enable the speaker to enhance his political reputation and to provide him with political ammunition through ready-made research staff under his control.

The 1936 statute creating the council outlined three functions:

(1) collection of data respecting the government and general welfare of the state, examination of previously enacted statutes and recommendations of amendments, study of important issues of public policy and questions of statewide interest, all in order to prepare a program for the next legislative session;

(2) consideration of the reports of the auditor of public accounts in order to report to the General Assembly on handling of public funds by state administrative agencies;

(3) fostering interstate cooperation through encouragement and arrangement of conferences with officials of other states and other units of government as well as promotion of the state's participation in the work of the Council of State Governments.

Legislative Council's Work

Thus the Legislative Council may be viewed as a device for developing positive leadership both in policy formulation and in the promotion of interstate cooperation as well as for effectuating administrative responsibility by pointing up the facts about state administration revealed by the auditor.

Absence of a permanent full-time research staff, however, necessarily compelled neglect of the role of positive leadership. Thus the council was forced more and more into the second role as time passed until, in 1945, it actually usurped the role of the appropriations committees by holding budget hearings over a period of about a month. The program it submitted to the 1946 legislature was essentially a fiscal program recommending expenditures to the legislature unsupported by any broad research.

The second role of "watchdog" was especially suited to the political complexion of the legislature at the time because of its opposition to the governor and executive officers. No such scrutiny of the executive budget had taken place when party harmony prevailed between executive and legislative branches. Nevertheless, no useful purpose seems to have been served by duplicating legislative examination of the budget.

The Legislative Council had nothing to present to the 1948 legislature. When the council met in September 1947, it was forced to adjourn until after the November election because seven of the eight house members were "lame ducks."

When it met in November the only item on the agenda was selection of representatives to the convention of the Council of State Governments. It adjourned within less than an hour of convening to meet again at the call of the lieutenant governor only if the new governor desired to use it as a "sounding board" for his own program. It had reached the ultimate in ineffectuality.

During the period when the council included executive officers in its membership it served at least as an instrument by which the executive and legislative branches were united in support of a legislative program. True, the council had not prepared the program. But through the council one measure after another urged by the executive branch found support from the leaders of the General Assembly and was enacted into law. The legislative process functioned with a minimum of friction and legislators seemed satisfied that leader-

ship was furnishing them with a program, irrespective of the fact that the leadership was not from their own branch of government.

Recent history in connection with Kentucky's Legislative Council supports the generalization that American legislative bodies have been unable to furnish leadership from their own ranks to formulate and secure a legislative program unless they are buttressed with tools for research equal to those in the executive branch.

At least the experience of Kansas and Illinois points to a correlation between the ability of the legislature to originate a program and the existence of a research staff to aid their legislative councils. Of course, the primary usefulness of the legislative council is in supplying factual data to the legislature. It is out of that information that a program can be developed. A legislative steering committee has, therefore, something concrete to support its proposals. In fact, the development of a legislative steering committee in the Kansas legislature, to see that Legislative Council bills are assigned to the proper standing committees and that the committees have council studies. is a logical outgrowth of the council idea.

The Kentucky Legislative Council never had an opportunity to function as a fact-finding and informational agency for the legislature. Because it never had a permanent full-time director, it was crippled from the start.

Thus Kentucky has gone full circle in the history of the legislative council. Just as a strong governor who led the legislature was responsible for the creation of the council in 1936, dominating it in the early years, again a strong executive has pushed the legislature into creation of a commission amply financed and fully staffed for research. Once again the governor, supported by the presiding officers of both houses and their majority leaders, will determine the direction legislative planning and research will take.

Legislative proponents of the new act admit privately that although they might prefer a commission strictly legislative in membership in order to make their branch coordinate in power, membership of the governor is essential to obtain adequate appropriations for legislative research.

The lesson the more intelligent and thoughtful legislators declare they have learned from the deterioration of the Legislative Council has been the overpowering need today for legislative research. The air has been cleared politically by the election of 1947, and the dominant majority within the majority party is in a position to bring Kentucky abreast of those other states with adequately financed and well staffed councils. A new page has been turned, and legislative leaders now seem ready to test the values of research in achieving an improved legislative product.

They All Want to Stay Out

San Francisco City-County presses hard against its borders but efforts for consolidation with San Mateo County fail.

By JOHN C. BOLLENS*

CREATED as one of 27 counties by the California legislature at its initial session in 1850, San Francisco County retained its original size for only a short time. A corrupt and inefficient city government, in contrast to an honest and well run county government, spurred the legislature to take action.

City and county governments were merged in 1856 and a common boundary was determined which substantially reduced the county's size. What had been the southern portion of San Francisco County became a new county, San Mateo.

The city and county of San Francisco grew rapidly during the last part of the nineteenth century. It was an intensive growth, too, limited to an area of 42 square miles. Soon after 1900 the city-county was pressing hard against its corporate boundaries. Contiguous expansion could take place in only one direction, a southerly one in San Mateo County.

Meanwhile, San Mateo County was also growing, but its expansion was on a much smaller scale and development was spread over the much larger area of 447 square miles. Communities sprang up along the east side of the peninsula, close to

But there were many sections of San Mateo County, such as the large areas in the southern part of the county and the less desirable mountain and marsh lands, which remained virtually undeveloped. Small, unincorporated coastal villages sprang up but none rivaled its eastern counterparts in size or population. For the most part expansion was limited to residential development.

Here then were two county jurisdictions, each with dissimilar but related problems. San Francisco was rich in population but poor in land area. It needed space for both its industries and its workers. San Mateo County had ample land, far more than it could use to advantage; yet, because of its scattered growth and multiplicity of governmental units, its people did not enjoy the maximum benefits of efficient government.

Such was the situation when early in the 1920's a few individuals began to consider the merits and disadvantages of consolidation.

The initial consolidation plan, publicly announced in 1923, was followed during the next five years by numerous equally short-lived proposals. A thorough study of the subject was made in 1928 by the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research under the sponsorship of the local Chamber of Commerce. Liberalized state enabling legislation

the bay. Growth was in some instances intense.

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was passed in 1929. Two years later the mechanics of the borough plan became an integral part of San Francisco's new charter.

By 1931 backers of consolidation felt that as soon as a limited number of details were worked out the matter was ready for submission to the voters of the two counties. Successful culmination of the consolidation movement seemed finally in sight after eight years of discussion. But such was not to prove true.

Charter Proposal Intervenes

In the latter part of 1931, at the exact time that it seemed propitious to submit the consolidation question to a vote, a county charter proposal was revived in San Mateo County. Opposition to consolidation suddenly crystallized. Seemingly overnight an unexpected dilemma had developed. To push aggressively for the consolidation election before San Mateo County could vote on a new charter, the consolidation strategists agreed, would appear to be a purely political maneuver designed to circumvent the wishes of the San Mateo County electorate.

The supporters of consolidation chose to wait, hoping that the new county charter would not materialize. But it was approved by a two to one vote in November 1932. Concurrently, the persistent economic depression intensified local governmental problems. Largely because of these two factors any immediate chance for success of the consolidation proposal was nullified.

The period from 1928 through 1932 might well be termed the peak period in the development of the San Francisco-San Mateo consolidation movement. Neither before nor after these years have so many groups in both counties been so intensely interested in unification possibilities.

Whenever consolidation came under discussion it inevitably became the source of numerous favorable and unfavorable arguments. While some were purely conjectural, the majority of favorable arguments were based on careful study and sound thinking. Simplification of governmental structure, elimination of much duplication of operation, increased coordination and attainment of a large degree of centralization would have been the almost inevitable products of a well administered consolidated government.

Assumptions such as those relating to cheaper utility rates and extension and expansion of port and industrial developments were made on a less solid foundation. For the most part, however, the favorable points were well taken and retained their validity throughout the period of greatest opposition.

The same conclusion can not be reached regarding the arguments used by opponents of consolidation. Too many of their arguments were based on ephemeral reasoning without thorough research and consideration. Others were little more than appeals to the emotions of newspaper readers and mass meeting audiences. But the effectiveness of these arguments can hardly be minimized. They succeeded in undermining the efforts of those working to unify the two county areas. Consolidation, it can be concluded, failed of achievement in the 1928-1932 period largely because the opposition worked effectively, even with inferior tools, in concentrated areas where a single unfavorable election could defeat the whole effort.

Active interest in consolidation, renewed in 1935, was soon stale-mated because of disagreement over inclusion of a borough plan. Additional evanescent attempts were inaugurated in October 1940, August 1943, September 1944 and June 1945.

The 1940 proposal, introduced by a San Francisco County supervisor, called for unification of not only San Francisco and San Mateo Counties but also Marin County. The 1943 attempt began with a resolution passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors urging appointment of a citizens' committee to formulate a consolidation plan for San Francisco and San Mateo Counties.

A joint proposal from the Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Associations and the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research initiated the 1944 attempt to bring the two counties together. In 1945 a San Francisco supervisor revived the old 1923 annexation proposal and introduced a resolution for the consolidation with San Francisco of that portion of San Mateo County lying north of Burlingame. The old pattern repeated itself in each instance; opposition developed, further constructive action was not forthcoming, interest died and the attempt was dropped.

A recent endeavor to bring San Francisco and San Mateo Counties together was begun in July 1947 when a San Francisco supervisor revived a resolution proposing that the mayor of San Francisco appoint a commission to work for consolidation. The resolution itself had been in and out of committee nearly a dozen times without formal action. It was finally adopted by a unanimous vote of the board of supervisors on August 4, 1947.

Inept Publicity

This proposal received a certain amount of immediate support from residents of San Mateo County oceanside communities but reaction in the rest of the county was largely unfavorable. Once again the customary anti-consolidation arguments were aired. In an interview with a reporter from a San Mateo County newspaper¹ an officer of the San Francisco Real Estate Board, while attempting to foster consolidation, actually gave the opponents of the movement considerable assistance when he said:

In all fairness, we must recognize the fact that San Francisco has a problem of expansion—it must have more land. We of San Francisco own the future water supply of San Mateo County. I don't think the citizens of San Francisco will continue to let San Mateo use the San Francisco airport, water supply, the railroad, without some return. . . Once we take San Mateo County over, the growth will be terrific. El Camino Real will make Wilshire Boulevard look like an alley.

This statement can hardly be regarded as an inducement to the citizens of San Mateo County to consolidate. Realizing that further action on the part of San Francisco was virtually useless at this time, the mayor did not appoint the com-

¹San Mateo Times, August 6, 1947.

mittee requested in the supervisors' resolution.

The sequel to this short-lived effort was initiated by the mayor-elect of San Francisco in November 1947 when he proposed the consolidation of Alameda, San Mateo and Marin Counties with San Francisco to form a "Greater San Francisco." Official reactions to the proposition were overwhelmingly negative in the Bay area outside of San Francisco.

A South San Francisco supervisor wanted to know, "Why do all these overtures for consolidation come from San Francisco? Why don't they wait until San Mateo wants it and asks for it?" The chairman of the Marin County Board of Supervisors, while expressing a desire to cooperate, pointed out that a similar consolidation plan had been discussed without success by nine cities in Marin County. The response of the mayor of Oakland was, "We are working toward a greater Metropolitan Oakland. Oakland will always remain a separate and distinct entity."

Reasons for Failure

Realization of this latest proposal would be dependent upon changing legal requirements in the state constitution, in state laws elaborating upon constitutional provisions and in the San Francisco charter.

Why have the backers of consolidation in nearly a quarter of a century of effort been so consistently unsuccessful in achieving their goal? It is evident that there is no simple explanation. Consolidation has failed for a complex series of reasons. Some of the more significant factors are:

(1) In many instances San Fran-

- cisco rather than San Mateo County groups instigated attempts at consolidation. Peninsula communities have looked with suspicion on such proposals.
- (2) Consolidation proposals initiated in San Mateo County usually came from real estate or other groups which stood to profit if consolidation were achieved.
- (3) A majority of the newspapers published in San Mateo County usually opposed political consolidation with San Francisco.
- (4) Well intentioned support by San Francisco City and County officials and members of San Francisco civic organizations often damaged the cause of consolidation. At other times, when support from these individuals was vital, they were only lukewarm toward the proposition.
- (5) The complicated legal process upon which attainment of consolidation depended served in itself to dampen the enthusiasm and lessen the effectiveness of those working for unification.
- (6) Officials of the numerous governmental jurisdictions in San Mateo County opposed, almost without exception, the many attempts to achieve consolidation.
- (7) Relations between San Francisco and San Mateo Counties were seldom sufficiently amicable to further the cause of consolidation. This was especially true with regard to the peninsula's water supply and transportation problems.
- (8) Many cities in San Mateo County were dissatisfied with representation accorded them on the various consolidation committees.
 - (9) The county charter move-

rnent which materialized in San Mateo County in 1932 effectively counceracted gains previously made by consolidation forces.

(10) Depression-borne economic conditions aided in discouraging consolidation when it had its best opportunity for passage in 1932.

The chances for a successful San Francisco-San Mateo consolidation novement are little better now than they were when the initial proposal was introduced a quarter century ago. The old backers have largely econcluded that consolidation is unlikely in their time.

New Approach Needed

An entirely different approach in working out solutions to mutual problems of the city-county of San Francisco and the county of San Mateo seems to be needed. Among governmental devices tried in the San Francisco Bay nine-county region the large special district has proven most successful in lessening or eliminating regional problems.² The East Bay Municipal Utility District, for example, supplies water to nine cities, six county water districts and ten unincorporated areas.

Since the consolidation plan has little chance of being adopted in the foreseeable future, the large special district is more feasible if its two customary weaknesses — increasing the excessive number of existing elected officials and contributing to the overabundance of tax pyramiding—can be rectified.

This device can be used in the San Francisco-San Mateo area and in other metropolitan centers, and these two defects can be avoided.

The key to the solution is the passage of general state enabling legislation permitting creation of large intercounty special or administrative districts. One such district could be established to include San Francisco and all or a substantial portion of San Mateo County.

The governing board should be composed of city councilmen or mayors and county supervisors of local units included within the territorial limits of the district.³ This board, composed of members of local legislatures operating within the district boundaries, will not increase the number of elected officials. Neither is it likely that it will become involved in the high degree of friction frequently existing among elected councils and boards.

Tax pyramiding in the same governmental area, the other frequent inadequacy of special districts, will also be avoided. It seems logical that the district directors, who are simultaneously helping to direct other governmental units in the area, will give considerable attention to adequate financial planning. If the district possesses tax levying power, the directors will consider the overall tax revenue needs of the cities,

²Another means of attack is being tried by the Bay Area Council, which is the latest privately sponsored effort aimed at fostering regional unity among the nine Bay counties.

The California legislature has passed special district legislation providing for governing boards of somewhat similar composition. One example is the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California which is directed by the mayors or councilmen of thirteen participating cities. England and Canada have comparable districts.

counties and the administrative district. It seems probable that if the district budget must be approved by individual governing boards, such as city councils and county boards, which have director representatives, careful consideration will be given to intelligent fiscal management.⁴

The administrative district must be given powers commensurate to the wide scope and serious nature of the problems with which it will be faced. Powers granted under the California Municipal Utility District Act of 1921 relating to matters such as transportation, water, light, power, sewage, refuse and garbage disposal seem appropriate for this type of district. The most aggravated problem is transportation and transit. An additional field in which it might participate is highway planning.

This suggestion is politically feasible since there are many special district acts in operation in California and since there is little or no public antagonism toward the concept "special district" as against "consolidated government." If comparable administrative districts are concurrently organized in other parts of the Bay metropolitan region, it is not inconceivable that they will eventually merge so that certain major regional problems can be dealt with most efficiently. The much discussed consolidation plan will then be arrived at by an indirect means.

EXPERTS FOR THE LAWMAKERS

(Continued from page 302)

This policy has proved advantageous because the men are in a better position to view problems broadly and are also in a position to carry a particular project through from preliminary outline to final drafted bills ready for introduction. This way the researcher does not have to depend upon the lawyer to put his ideas into bill form and the lawyer does not have to accept the researcher's conclusions blindly. They complement, supplement and educate each other.

As a rule, the generalist does a better job than the specialist of convincing legislators without irritating them. Domineering staff members will wreck any legislative research agency; researchers must assist and not direct.

The experience in Missouri indicates that a good staff of researchers working continuously with legislators from day to day can make a greater contribution in the long run to better government than a highly specialized staff charged with preparing a program of legislation to be handed to the General Assembly.

Undoubtedly Missouri's Legislative Research Committee has made and is now making a significant contribution to improved government in the state and will continue to do so as long as it reveres the principles laid down by its founders.

^{&#}x27;Important factors such as basis of representation will have to be worked out carefully.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article is a summary of a section appearing in The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region, a forthcoming

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News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Fransportation, Traffic Bedevil Municipalities

More Cities Feel Need of Adequate Planning

RESULTS of a recent Gallup poll in cities from coast to coast indicate that in all but the largest cities he worst problems, according to the people interviewed, were those connected with traffic and transportation—traffic jams and parking troubles, time wasting, outmoded transportation. In the cities of over 500,000 population these problems were topped only by poor housing and slum conflictions.

At the three-day National Citizens' Conference on Planning in Newark, New Jersey, May 18-20, under the auspices of the American Planning and Civic Association, the urgent need or planning to solve urban traffic and transportation problems received primary attention. Loss of hundreds of millions of real estate values in urban centers by congestion and decentralization was stressed by Robert A. Mitchell, chief of the Philadelphia Bureau of Traffic Engineering. Besides development of off-street parking and loading, maximum use of existing streets for movement of traffic and essential parking, and increased attraction on the part of public transportation facilities, he urged more use of master city plans to enlarge the city's capacity for transportation.

A comprehensive study recently reported by the Urban Transportation Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States emphasizes that increasing congestion of street traffic and local transportation threatens community development and urges urban planning to make provision for all forms of passenger and freight transportation, adoption of specific measures for traffic improvement and establishment of centralized traffic administration in cities.

The relation of a properly balanced street system to efficient urban transportation is stressed, with the need of careful planning of neighborhood and secondary streets and major thoroughfares, including limited-access expressways where traffic warrants.

Regulation of curb parking so as to keep traffic moving, and stimulation of off-street parking and truck-loading facilities are among the recommendations. Another is the encouragement of local transit agencies in the task of mass transportation; if adequately done this tends to relieve congestion caused by parked or moving private vehicles.

Cities Act

Such agencies, public and private, are taking steps to increase and modernize their facilities. Chicago's new transit authority is expanding the metropolitan rapid-transit streetcar and bus services in the first phase of a ten-year \$150,000,000 improvement program.

San Francisco, also with all local transit now under public auspices, has undergone a transportation survey resulting in recommendations for 36 new transit lines and purchase of 50 new street cars, 416 trolley coaches and 190 buses over a period of years.

In Baltimore a revamping and modernization of transit is in progress, including extensive reroutings, new lines and conversions from street cars to trolley coaches and buses. A somewhat similar program is under way in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Philadelphia Transportation Company is making major transit changes, including conversions to trolley coaches and buses and adding to transit lines. It is cooperating with the City Planning Commission, which is preparing comprehensive plans of highways, land use and population distribution, with which plans for transit will be correlated.

As reported to the American Transit Association at its last convention by Leslie Williams, traffic engineer and city planner, federal, state, county and city authorities are working closely with the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association in developing a comprehensive system of transportation for the Pittsburgh region.

Recently Allegheny County has created a Transit and Traffic Commission to help provide adequate highways for the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, eliminate grade crossings and traffic bottlenecks, and persuade its municipalities to adopt uniform methods of traffic control. It will not undertake new construction.

Pittsburgh itself has set up a Public Parking Authority to remedy congestion, particularly in the Golden Triangle where the rivers meet. A \$36,000,000 program is contemplated over a period of years.

Portland, Oregon, has a Transportation Planning Commission, including representatives of the City Planning Commission and the Traffic Safety Commission and headed by the commissioner of public utilities.

Courses for Traffic Policemen and Judges

The New York University School of Law, with the cooperation of the Traffic Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, will conduct the eastern traffic police training course June 14-26, on its Washington Square Campus in New York City.

This basic 75-hour course in traffic control and accident prevention is open to all city, county and state police and highway patrol officers on active duty. Most of the officers expected to attend will be from the eastern area.

Instructors will be representatives of the IACP Traffic Division, the Northwestern University Traffic Institute and other leading safety organizations and traffic and police officials.

The course will deal primarily with police phases of traffic control, but will also acquaint officers with other elements of control and their relation to police activity.

From June 21 to 26 there will also be a conference for traffic court judges and prosecutors under the auspices of the New York University School of Law in cooperation with the American Bar Association and the Northwestern University Traffic Institute.

Judges and prosecutors from all sections of the east are expected to attend. A similar conference was held at New York University last year; others have since been held at Northwestern University, the University of California and Tulane University.

The conference is intended to give judges and prosecutors an opportunity to become more familiar with the proper handling of traffic cases, and broader and more intimate knowledge of traffic law enforcement principles and methods through exchange of information and ideas, organized discussion, lectures and demonstrations.

The tenth National Institute for Traffic Training will be held July 5-23 at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, by the National Committee for Traffic Training, composed of leading organizations in the traffic safety field.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The borough of **Bloomsburg, Penn-**yivania, (population 9,799) has become
the 39th council-manager municipality
that state.

Two more California cities have dopted the council-manager plan, woodland (population 6,637) and Newcort Beach (4,438).

Mount Pleasant, Texas, (4,528) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On December 6, 1947, **Beaumont**, **Texas**, adopted a new charter which continues the council-manager plan adopted in 1919.

St. Laurent, Quebec, Canada, has also adopted the manager plan.

The **York (Maine)** Town Manager Association is working for adoption of the manager plan.

A Plan E Committee has been ormed in **Beverly**, **Massachusetts**, to nelp obtain the manager plan and proportional representation for that city.¹

Selectmen of the town of Southpridge, Massachusetts, have appointed a committee to study Plan E and to survey the town's finances and their administration.

Application of Plan E as now in effect in Saugus, Massachusetts, to the town of **Danvers** was discussed at a Lions Club meeting by Joseph Ambrose, secretary of a committee appointed to make a survey of the town government.

A movement for the manager plan is under way in the town of **Wilming**ton, Massachusetts.

The bill to provide a council-manager charter for the town of Jamestown, Rhode Island, which passed the state senate unanimously on April 21, has been killed in the lower house. The manager plan had been approved by two of the town meeting and had the tunanimous endorsement of the town

council. Three other council-manager bills have died in the Rhode Island legislature this year, including one for **Newport**, where the voters had approved the manager plan three to one.

The manager plan for New Britain, Connecticut, proposed by Alderman F. E. Zapatka, is backed by the Property Owners Association. Another supporter, William D. Boyle, urges that if the city council does not favor the plan the legislature be asked to put it to a referendum vote.

The Charter Revision Committee of Meriden, Connecticut, heard the manager plan explained by Mayor Cyril Coleman of Hartford, a native of Meriden.

Pursuant to the filing of petitions the circuit court has ordered a vote on the manager plan in **Pulaski**, **Virginia**, on June 8.

The town council of North Miami, Florida, has appointed a committee to draft a council-manager charter.

A campaign for the manager plan has again been instituted in Steuben-ville. Ohio.

The City Manager Charter Association of **East Liverpool**, **Ohio**, has endorsed a slate of fifteen candidates for a charter commission to be voted on August 3. All are pledged to the council-manager plan.

Efforts are under way in **Sheffield**, **Alabama**, for replacement of its commission government by the councilmanager plan. Petitions calling for an election have been prepared.

The newly organized Citizens Committee for Charter Revision of Ann Arbor, Michigan, is working to secure a vote on the council-manager plan next April.

The charter commission of **Benson**, **Minnesota**, has submitted a home rule council-manager charter to the city council. The charter commission in **Crookston** has done likewise, after three years of work.

The Civic Affairs Committee of the

¹See also page 328 this issue.

Muscatine, Iowa, Chamber of Commerce is working for approval of the manager plan.

In Marceline, Missouri, a councilmanager proposal was defeated 785 to 261 on April 6.

City managers in **Kansas** held their first manager school at Kansas University April 22-24. Fourteen Kansas managers attended, also four from Missouri and one from Colorado. Program items included a management "clinic," in-service training, and human problems of administration.

Delta, Colorado, recently defeated a proposal for adoption of the manager plan, as did Perry and Wewoka, Oklahoma.

A council-manager amendment for the Miami, Oklahoma, charter, drafted by direction of the city council and members of the board of public utilities, has been made public for suggestions before filing with the city clerk. A vote is expected to be taken in August or September. The amendment provides that a manager shall be appointed by the city council of five members (four from wards and one at large) and the four-member board of public utilities, a total of seven votes being necessary for appointment.

Twenty-one Oklahoma managers met at Oklahoma City, April 23-24.

An election on a council-manager charter will be held in **Greenville**, **Texas**, on June 15. The city attorney has challenged the legality of the charter and the commission that drafted it.

A council-manager charter for San Antonio, Texas, has been drafted for submission to the Council-Manager Association of that city for discussion by that group and the public. A council of eleven with three members at large and two from each of four districts is proposed; all, however, would be voted upon by the entire city.

A new attendance record, 42, was set for the annual meeting of **Texas** managers at Temple on April 25-27.

An active movement for the manager plan is under way in Sheridan, Wyoming.

Plans for an election in Oceanside, California, on the question of adopting the council-manager plan have been abandoned. According to the clerk. "Because this matter had become a partisan issue, so much so that the outcome would not have represented the opinion of a majority of the voters, this proposition was eliminated from the ballot before call for the election was published. The city of Oceanside will, at least for the time. continue to operate under a limited form of city manager government as provided for by an ordinance creating the office of city administrator, in operation since July 1, 1947."

In San Bernardino, California, a charter revision committee recently appointed by Mayor James E. Cunningham is investigating the feasibility of the manager plan as well as other aspects of possible charter revision.

The newly elected mayor of San Bruno, California, Edward McGuire, has announced that he will work with two of the councilmen for adoption of the manager plan.

In addressing the Medford, Oregon, League of Women Voters, Councilman Dwight Houghton stated that all members of the city council desire a city manager. He commented that if Medford accepts the manager plan it should be prepared to pay well for a capable man, as in the case of a business corporation.

Cambridge Council Averts State Action on Mayor

Long-continued deadlock in the Cambridge, Massachusetts, city council over the selection of one of its members as mayor was broken on April 23, at the

55th recessed session of the council's 'first meeting." A total of 1321 ballots were taken. No candidate had previously been able to secure a majority, as required by Cambridge's "Plan E"

The state legislature appeared to be non the verge of entering the situation by passage of legislation amending Plan E so as to make the city clerk the acting mayor until a mayor is schosen by the council. This was not regarded as an ideal solution, and enight have involved legal difficulties.

The Cambridge deadlock attracted widespread publicity, including some sadverse to Plan E. However, the allimportant features of Plan E—city manager appointed by a council elected under the system of proportional representation—were not responsible for the difficulty, and the city's government continued to function practically as usual under the city manager. The deadlock points up the desirability of different or alternative methods of selecting a mayor where this is to be done by a city council or commission out of its own membership.

New York Court Upholds City Manager Against Mayor

The Court of Appeals of the State of New York has in effect sustained the city manager as the chief executive, rather than the mayor, in cities operating under the council-manager plan. Appointments of two members of the Yonkers Municipal Housing Authority by one-time City Manager M. L. Rosenwasser, in December 1945, were not recognized by the authority, which claimed that appointments should be by the mayor. This view was upheld in the Supreme (lower) Court but was reversed by the Appellate Division, which was in turn unanimously upheld by the Court of Appeals, on April 22, without opinions. The term of one of the two appointees has expired; the other, William A. Schlobohm, is now approved as a member of the authority.

Alternative Charters Drafted for New Haven

The Taxpayers Research Council, Inc., of New Haven, Connecticut, has prepared drafts of strong-mayor and council-manager charters, for discussion and comparison with the present weakmayor type in New Haven, where at present there are 57 elective officials. The strong-mayor draft resembles a charter prepared by a committee but rejected by the Board of Aldermen a year ago. It differs from the previous document in retaining the controversial Board of Finance with which the mayor would consult before preparing the budget. The city council would consist of eight members elected at large and seven from districts, with alternating four-year terms.

Cities Benefit from Aerial Mapping

Improvements in aerial map-making developed during the war are proving advantageous to cities where aerial photography is being used extensively, especially for planning superhighways and land use studies.

In Cleveland stereopticon cameras, taking pictures from an altitude of 3,500 feet, reduce ground surveying to a minimum and produce maps of marvelous detail. A saving of \$2,000,000 is claimed.

The Chicago department of superhighways is using aerial maps in developing the new Congress Street expressway, an eight-mile eight-lane thoroughfare across the city; a great deal of expensive preliminary ground work is thus avoided.

Aerial mapping has been used recently in Atlanta, Fort Wayne and many other cities undertaking superhighway projects. Use of stereopticon cameras and advanced techniques permit determination of building heights and terrain contours with amazing accuracy.

The San Diego city planning department is using aerial pictures in developing new park and recreation property created by deposits of dredged material in Mission Bay. Many other planning agencies are using aerial photography, according to the American Public Works Association.

Muncie, Indiana, is completing revision of its zoning regulations after mapping the city by air to determine land use. Pennsylvania and various other states have prepared air maps for community use.

Air maps prepared before and after highways or other public works have been completed have been used by state and city governments in damage suits by property owners.

One-House Representative Body Urged in Ohio

A constitutional amendment to create a unicameral legislature, recently presented to the Ohio Association of Cities by Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, was unanimously approved by the legislative committee of the association on May 13. Its purposes include more truly representative government as well as a more efficient legislative body. Mayor Cash stated:

"The cities of Ohio today are up against some very serious problems—housing, slum clearance, expressway development, financial stringency and other major matters. On every big problem the cities are stymied by inadequate or even hostile state legislation. The cities have not had fair, sympathetic consideration in the General Assembly. The goose that lays the golden egg is being strangled. The main reason is that cities have not been adequately represented. For example, Hamilton County has the same

population as 30 rural counties. But in the present Ohio House of Representatives Hamilton County has nine spokesmen and the 30 rural counties have 30... The cities do not want to control the legislature. They only want fair treatment, a genuine effort at Columbus to understand and meet their needs, and a chance to solve their own problems without hostile, irritating limitations in state law."

Constitutional Revision Studied in North Carolina

The legislature of North Carolina has established a commission to make a study of the needs for constitutional revision in that state. It consists of five members from each of the two houses, five from the courts, five appointed by the governor and, ex officio, the attorney-general. The commission is strictly an advisory agency. A popular vote on the question of a constitutional convention is not expected before 1950.

New York Limits Disability Preferences for Veterans

The Court of Appeals, highest New York State court, decided four to three on April 22 that under the 1945 veterans' preference amendment to the state constitution the special preferences for disabled veterans apply only where there is a Veterans Administration disability rating of 10 per cent or more. The majority opinion said that "the people took the preference disability out of the field of inquiry by making it only one to the extent of which the Veterans Administration had the power to certify, and that was one of 10 per cent or more."

Lower or so-called "zero per cent" disabilities are thus barred from giving disability preference.

The decision resulted from a suit by three New York City non-veteran firemen who became eligible for promotion to lieutenant by passing a competitive examination, but some 200 other candidates received disabled veterans' preference despite lower ranking.

The New York State Civil Service Commission had not observed the distinction as to 10 per cent rating. The decision was expected to affect some permanent appointments as well as applicants for positions or promotions.

Nine-State Compact to Purify Ohio River

Ratification of the Ohio River Compact by Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia represents a long step toward better conditions as to drinking-water, fishing, swimming, boating and river transportation.

The states subscribing to the compact are pledged to the enactment of necessary legislation for abatement and control to make the waters of the Ohio River and its tributaries safe and sanitary. Administration will be in a commission of three persons from each state and three representing the federal government. Plans are being made through the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce for convening the first meeting of the new commission in Cincinnati during the coming summer, according to the Citizens Development Committee for the Cincinnati Area.

Discharge of millions of gallons of sewage and industrial wastes daily into the Ohio River and its tributaries has long been a serious menace to public health. Pollution of the river has been greatly increased in recent decades by growth of cities and installation of industrial plants. The compact commission will undertake to reverse the trend.

New Jersey Court Sustains Interstate Sanitation Commission

Operation of interstate compacts for pollution control and other important public purposes is notably strengthened by a recent New Jersey court decision.

Created by compact between the states of New York and New Jersey to control and abate pollution of New York Harbor and adjacent waters, the Interstate Sanitation Commission had ordered various municipalities to take steps to abate pollution. The New Jersey communities of Weehauken. Union City and West New York had been ordered to provide sewage treatment in connection with a joint outlet sewer and to contract for treatment works by September 1, 1946. When they failed to comply, the commission applied to the Chancery Court of New Jersey for an injunction against discharge of sewage and for sewage treatment by a fixed date. On April 13, 1948. Vice-Chancellor Fielder concluded that the injunction should issue.

The municipalities attacked the commission and the law under which it functions on constitutional and other legal grounds, but were unsuccessful.

Corrections.—A statement on page 266 of the May Review, that Michigan's one-man grand jury had been held unconstitutional, is incorrect. The Supreme Court did not outlaw the one-man grand jury but decided against the practice of the jury in sentencing recalcitrant witnesses for contempt of court in secret hearings. Before a witness can be sentenced for contempt of court it will now be necessary to have open hearings on the charge.

On page 260 in the same issue the Review was in error in stating that "Kentucky still follows its 1893 apportionment." A legislative reapportionment was made in 1942.

Researcher's Digest

Edited by John E. Bebout

Human Concerns of Local Government

Race Relations Topic of Philadelphia Reports

THE Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, Robert K. Sawyer, director, has issued two comprehensive reports on Negro-white relations in Philadelphia, both the work of G. Gordon Brown, a staff member.

Law Administration and Negro-White Relations in Philadelphia is a 183-page book covering Negro population, distribution and housing, employment and social status, and crime and de-The Philadelphia police linquency. force is described and Negro-police and Negro-legal process aspects are discussed. Three basic recommendations are made: that a course of training in race relations be given to police officers, that a systematic means of estimating changes in race attitudes throughout the city be adopted by law enforcement agencies, and that a permanent civic public relations committee be established.

Recreational Facilities and Negro-White Relations in Philadelphia, a 53page mimeographed pamphlet, covers the Negro need for recreational facilities, public recreation facilities in the Negro areas of the city and problems of race relations in the administration of recreation. Its three main recommendations are: that recreational facilities be increased as soon as possible, that all recreation administrators recognize that not only supervision but also community leadership is necessary, and that a further study be made into Negro recreational life. Appendices present proposed recreation standards for the city and techniques of research used.

Economic Development and Social Welfare

Some Factors in the Indian Problem in New Mexico is a 48-page study published by the Division of Research of the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico. "Liberate the Indians, yes," concludes Dr. Florence Hawley, the author, assistant professor of anthropology at the university, "but group by group" and not without adequate preparation for the assumption of the "rights, privileges, duties and competitive position expected of other United States citizens." Written from the anthropological point of view, the study is concerned mainly with the Pueblo Indians.

The **Baltimore** welfare study is the subject of an article in the GRA's Notes and References by D. Benton Biser, director of the Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of that city, which made the study and issued the report.¹

Mr. Biser discusses the plan of the study and its general findings and recommendations. He advocates greater citizen attention not only to the welfare situation in Baltimore but also to the larger aspects of the entire welfare system on a national scale.

Subsidization of Industry in Forty Selected Cities in Wisconsin, 1930-1946 (206 pages) is a report by W. D. Knight, published by the University of Wisconsin Bureau of Business Research and Science. It deals with subsidization of industry in cities which

¹See the Review, February 1948, page 101, and March 1948, page 159.

have lost lumber or other employment. Subsidization in communities lacking balanced industrial development is also considered. The author concludes that, in general, the communities studied "would not have obtained an equivalent amount of employment and payroll without the use of subsidization."

Utah's unemployment compensation program is compared with those of other mountain states in a *Research Report* from the **Utah Foundation**, Henry R. Pearson, director.

The San Francisco Bay Area: Its People, Prospects and Problems has been prepared by Industrial Survey Associates, Stuart P. Walsh, director, for the San Francisco Bay Area Council. The 48-page report, with charts and supplement, considers population changes in the area, the working pattern, potential growth of economy and transportation problems.

The Citizens Budget Commission of New York, Henry J. Amy, executive director, has examined the proposals of the World Trade Corporation and the Port of New York Authority to assume the rehabilitation and development of the waterfront facilities of the city. Comparing the proposals of each body, side by side, the commission concludes that "neither proposal is acceptable in its present form, but that the authority and its offer furnish the better base for an early and desirable development of the waterfront resources of the city."

Industrial Regulation Taxes and Licenses, one of the five reports which are to comprise a survey of Industrial Resources of Tennessee, has been issued by the Tennessee State Planning Commission, Hayden B. Johnson, executive director.

A master financial plan for the physical development of the city is advocated in a bulletin from the San Fran-

cisco Bureau of Governmental Research, Alfred F. Smith, director.

Organization and Areas of Public Administration

The new city manager of Golden, Colorado, has been provided with a 170-page study of the city undertaken in preparation for their theses by the graduate fellows of the University of Denver's Department of Government Management, Henry K. Stanford, director. An Administrative Study of the City of Golden, Jefferson County, Colorado, was prepared at the request of the council and civic groups and is "directed primarily to Golden's city manager in order that he may have at his fingertips the background information necessary for the efficient administration of the city."

The Cleveland Citizens League, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, in its Greater Cleveland advocates reorganization of Cuyahoga County government by the drafting of a county charter to centralize many governmental functions in the metropolitan area.

The Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research, Eric Hardy, director, has issued a newsletter advocating a unified administration for the thirteen governmental units making up Greater Toronto rather than the alternate plan to adopt the borough system.

The proposed department of administration in Michigan's state government is advocated and diagrammed in Bureau Notes of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Loren B. Miller, director. A contrasting chart of the present organization of state management is also presented.

Organization and Function of State and Local Government in Arkansas is a study by Henry M. Alexander of the department of history and political science of the University of Arkansas. The 201-page survey is published by the university's Bureau of Research, C. O. Brannen, director.

School Districts

The Dauphin County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League, John L. Herber, executive secretary, at the request of the county superintendent of schools, has prepared a study of the nine contiguous school districts in the county entitled Toward Better Schools Through Cooperation. Concluding with a number of recommendations designed to consolidate the resources of the districts, the report covers population trends, school enrollment, school plant facilities and a fiscal analysis. Sixteen tables and charts support the text.

In a Newsletter the Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division, Leslie J. Reese, director, summarizes its report on vocational training in the high schools of six school districts in Allegheny County. The study was undertaken because, though the area is highly industrialized, there are now no trade or industrial curriculum or trade extension courses offered in the public schools. The league recommends that the six districts be consolidated and that such courses be instituted.

The Wyoming Taxpayers' Association, Percy F. Jowett, executive director, presents a report advocating the reorganization of the present twelve school districts in Platte County into one.

The People Speak: Elections, Representation and Control

The Pennsylvania State College Institute of Local Government has published Registration in Pennsylvania Elections, 1926-1946 (68 pages). Prepared by H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the institute, and Fannette H. Luhrs, research assistant, the report discusses registration laws, the number of registered voters during the period, registration by counties and

the deviation between party registration and voting. There are tables, graphs and a map.

Elections in Rural New York (38 pages mimeographed) gives legal provisions and statistical facts on various aspects of the subject. Prepared by C. A. Bratton and E. A. Lutz, it is published by the Department of Agricultural Economics of the Agricultural College of Cornell University.

"Apportionment in State Legislatures: Its Practice in Florida" is a recent issue of *Economic Leaflets*, Roland B. Eutsler, editor, published by the University of Florida's Bureau of Economics and Business Research. In this article, J. E. Dovell, assistant professor of history and political science, examines the principles and practice of apportionment in general and in Florida in particular.

Christian L. Larsen and Conrad Cowan of the University of South Carolina Bureau of Public Administration are authors of South Carolina State Constitution Amendment Procedures. They conclude that "the possibility of constitutional change in South Carolina largely is controlled by the General Assembly" and recommend several ways in which the participation of the people might be increased. The appendix consists of the constitutional provisions for amending each of the 48 state constitutions.

Traffic, Transportation and Public Works Problems

The installation of parking meters in eleven Montana cities has solved traffic problems and increased municipal revenues, according to Taxpayer of the Montana Taxpayers' Association, R. A. Neill, executive secretary. A table gives financial statistics about the meters in each city.

Parking meters in Kansas and Colorado cities are discussed in an article

in the Kansas Government Journal of the League of Kansas Municipalities, John G. Stutz, executive director, and a sixteen-page reprint from Colorado Municipalities (Colorado Municipal League) entitled "Parking Problems in Colorado."

Future Springfield, Inc. (Massachusetts), Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director, has issued its Consolidated Traffic Report comprising a traffic survey and the results of a public opinion poll on the traffic problem.

Buffalo's progress in traffic safety is outlined in *Just a Moment*, bulletin of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, George G. Sipprell, managing director.

Airport Approach Zoning in Colorado (36 pages) has been published by the Colorado Municipal League, Allen E. Pritchard, Jr., executive secretary.

E. S. Fabian, director of the Airport Development Laboratory of the University of Tennessee, describes the progress in developing Tennessee airports under the Federal Airport Act of 1946 in "State Aids in Local Airport Plans." The article appears in Tennessee Government, Eleanor Keeble, editor, of the University's Bureau of Public Administration.

Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research, and Raymond D. Metzner, president of the Cuyahoga County Bar Association, have prepared a report on the location of the county morgue for which funds have been appropriated. It discusses the functions of the county coroner, the equipment necessary for his work, several proposed locations for the building and other factors.

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research summarizes in a recent pamphlet the 1947 progress on seven major projects—airports, public transit, highways and bridges, hospitals, water

supply and distribution, sewers, sewage collection and treatment—in the City Planning Commission's 1948-53 program. Issues of Citizens' Business, on the other hand, discuss the present inaction on two proposed smoke-abatement measures and outline the benefits to be expected were a complete smoke-control program inaugurated.

Municipal Employees and How Much It Takes to Hire Them

According to the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, many of the new salary rates proposed by the Civil Service Commission are higher than the highest salaries for similar work in either public or private employment. The bureau recommends adjusting the rates in question downward to avoid compelling private employers to raise salaries or lose their own employees. A table shows some of the classes in which civil service recommendations are high.

A liberalization of the Los Angeles vacation policy for city employees is discussed in For the Record of the city's Government Research, Inc., Ed. F. Thompson, executive secretary.

Two information bulletins from the Michigan Municipal League, John H. Huss, director, present data in tabular form about municipal employees. One covers vacation and sick leave practices in 60 Michigan municipalities over 5,000 population and the other gives salary and wage figures for 44 Michigan cities of over 10,000 population.

A recent Tax Bulletin from the Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, Rupert F. Asplund, director, includes a compilation of state payrolls summarized in six-month periods from June 30, 1941, through December 31, 1947, and presented in detail for the last half of 1947.

Governmental Research Association's

Notes and References contains an article by Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration on "Better Policing for Less Money." Mr. Smith makes a number of recommendations concerning better personnel controls, police leadership, the structure and function of police departments, salaries and pensions, traffic regulation, criminal investigation, crime prevention and uniformed patrol.

Research Brevities (Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, George L. Nichols, managing director) outlines the reasons for the high cost of the police department in Schenectady and makes a number of recommendations to reduce costs and improve protection.

The University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research, Ethan P. Allen, director, describes the office of county coroner in Kansas in Your Government.

Teachers' Salaries

Teachers' salaries in Hartford are discussed in *Taxpayers' Business* of the **Hartford Governmental Research Institute**, Leslie M. Graylin, director.

The Civic League of Winnebago County (Rockford, Illinois), Arthur D. Logan, executive secretary, has issued a comparative tabular analysis of school teachers' salaries in Rockford and sixteen other cities.

The New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, A. R. Everson, executive vice president, has issued a digest of its proposal to change completely the administration of New Jersey's teachers' pension and annuity fund in order to save the state many millions of dollars each year.

According to the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**, Robert E. Pickup, executive director, a proposed increase in Providence teachers' salaries is not necessary to compete with other Rhode Island communities for teachers. His conclusion is sup-

ported in a bulletin and supplements discussing a bill urged by the Providence School Committee which would raise the property tax limit from \$25 to \$28 per \$1,000 and establish a separate maximum school tax of \$15 per \$1,000.

Information For and About Local Government

A "dictionary" of the sources and types of technical information and assistance which Tennessee state and local officials may obtain on request has been published by the University of Tennessee for the Tennessee State Planning Commission and the University's Bureau of Public Administration, Lee S. Greene, director. The 168-page volume is the first of a series to be issued in Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi and North and South Carolina. Divided into 30 fields of interest -legal assistance, purchasing, public health, judicial administration, etc.the directory lists under each the national and state agencies from which information may be obtained.

The University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Local and State Government, Stephen B. Sweeney, director, has released the outline of one of its series of short courses for public officials.¹ This course, on municipal public relations, covers employee-citizen contacts, publicity and press relations, municipal reports and other topics.

The preparation of city reports has received attention in bulletins from two bureaus. Both discuss contents, "how to enliven the facts," layout, etc. They are: A New Kind of City Report, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, and If It's Worth

¹See the Review, March 1948, page 164.

²See the Review, March 1948, page 160.

Doing . . . , Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, Robert M. Goodnich, executive director.

The Cleveland Citizens' League advocates a number of changes in form and content of the annual budget designed to make it more clear and more timely.

Bureau Notes

Future Springfield, Inc. (Massachusetts), Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director: report on 1947 activities and future plans.

Tilinois Legislative Council, Jack F. Isakoff, director of research: annual report for 1947 (including list of current research studies).

Kansas Legislative Council, F. H. Guild, director of research: March 1948 progress report.

Oklahoma Legislative Council, L. D. Melton, director: Journal covering organization and preparation of a program.

A citizen-sponsored Bureau of Governmental Research has been established in San Antonio, Texas, as an activity of the Planning Board of San Antonio and Bexar County. Edward G. Conroy has been appointed director.

The Lake County Civic League (Waukegan, Illinois) was organized late last year, and Walton R. L. Taylor has been appointed executive secretary. The league, whose board of directors comprises men from each township, city and village in the county, is making surveys of local governments in Lake County, analyzing budgets and doing other fact-finding work.

The University of Florida has established a Public Administration Clearing Service in accordance with the program of the university to make its service more accessible and to provide data pertaining to problems of the state.

Dr. Arthur J. Waterman, Jr., has been named director of research.

Members of the Western Governmental Research Association in Boise, Idaho, have organized a WGRA chapter there. James B. McCool is president and A. W. Empie is secretary-treasurer.

The first issue of the Western Political Quarterly, a new professional journal in the field of political science, came out in March. Published by the University of Utah, the journal is edited by Professor F. B. Schick.

The University of Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Research has published a special issue of its magazine entitled Measures of Economic Changes in Utah, 1847-1947. The Utah Foundation in Salt Lake City supplies the volume for \$2.

The proceedings of its 1947 conference, in San Diego, Workshop in Governmental Research, have been published by the Western Governmental Research Association, John C. Bollens, executive secretary. The 32-page pamphlet summarizes discussion at the six panels.1 and reports of three talks, "What Government and Business Can Learn from Each Other," "The Relative Roles of University, Citizen and Government Research Agencies," and "The U. S. Department of Commerce as a Source of Material for Researchers." It can be secured for \$1 from the association at 117 Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Strictly Personal

Dr. Elwyn A. Mauck, professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, has just assumed his duties in connection with his appointment as director of the new State Fiscal Research Bureau of Maryland.

¹See the Review, November 1947, page 584.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Massachusetts State Civic Group Born

Local Plan E Organizations Form Statewide Association

MASSACHUSETTS citizen groups to support Plan E (council-manager government with proportional representation for election of council and school board) continue their activities for the movement. One significant development is completion of the organization of the State Plan E Association. The requisite number of local Plan E groups, including Beverly, Boston, Cambridge, Medford, Quincy, Revere, Somerville and Worcester, have now ratified proposed by-laws1, and further ratifications are expected. Each group which approved the state association was entitled to send a representative to the April 30th organization meeting, which elected George A. McLaughlin, former president of the Cambridge Civic Association, as president.

Major purposes of the state association, as reported by Courtney R. Sheldon in the Christian Science Monitor, are: To unite all Plan E organizations; to provide a common agency to represent local Plan E organizations on a statewide basis; to serve as a central information bureau for exchange of ideas and experiences; to assist voters in communities not having a Plan E charter in securing its adoption; to inform voters on the advantages of the proportional representation method of electing public officials; and to encourage and support intelligent leadership and civic interest in public affairs.

Now that its program of political reconstruction is "firmly anchored in a thriving city managership," the Cambridge Civic Association, Donald Spencer, president, is starting a campaign for the securing of recreation, school and highway improvement projects. "The time has now come," said Mr. Spencer, "to take the next step in the reconstruction of the city." The city adopted Plan E in 1940.

Worcester boasts two Plan E groups, The Citizens' Plan E Association, Paul S. Krantz, president, and the People's Plan E Charter Committee, Timothy F. Daley, chairman. Now that Plan E has been adopted by the voters, both groups intend to support candidates for the first councilmanic election under the new charter in 1949.

Plan E for Boston has the support of 57 per cent of the city's voters, according to a recent poll of public opinion by the Boston Globe. A year ago a similar poll gave the plan 45 per cent support. Against the plan this year was 24 per cent of the voters; no opinion, 19 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the Democrats queried were for Plan E, 79 per cent of the Republicans, and 61 per cent of the independents. Boston is unable to vote on Plan E though legislation to make this possible has been requested for a number of years. Francis X. Ahearn is chairman of the Plan E For Boston Committee.

Citizen Groups Support Candidates

In University City, Missouri, candidates supported by the Charter Committee, which campaigned for the city's council-manager charter adopted last year, won the city council election this spring. Proponents of the new form of government feel that the vote shows a definite increase in charter support. "Results of this election," said a Char-

¹See the Review, April 1948, page 222.

der Committee statement, "combined with concrete savings already shown in more efficient operation of the city acovernment under the charter, prove aconclusively that the system is successful and approved by the voters." Harold C. Ackert is president of the appropriation.

McMinn County, Tennessee, will hold rits first election under its county manager charter in August-the first council under the new charter was appointed by the legislature to serve until the next general election. According to News Notes, issued by the McMinn County Good Government League, E. R. Lingerfelt, executive vice president, seven of these appointed members (out of nine) have announced they will stand for election on a nonpartisan ticket. Says News Notes, "All were selected because of their ability and fitness for the office and because of their recognized nonpartisan attitude toward the problems of government. The splendid record they have made is a vindication of the wisdom of their selection and certainly merits the vote of confidence they ask in their announcement."

The City Club of Chicago, William H. Haight, president, "mustered a strong crew of poll watchers for the Joint Civic Committee's effort at the April primary," reports the club's Bulletin. Forty-one members formed the club's lineup in addition to those signing independently with the joint committee or serving in party campaigns.

Toledo's nonpartisan Get-Out-the-Vote Committee, which did an excellent job in 1946, became active again this spring previous to the May primaries. Purpose of the committee is to stimulate citizen interest in the election by means of newspaper publicity, radio spot announcements and stories, restaurant table tents and posters in industrial plants. The Toledo Parent-Teacher Association cooperated by is

suing bulletin board posters for each classroom in the city's schools.

State, Local Organizations Seek Better Government

The New Jersey Constitution Foundation, Robert Cruise McManus, public relations secretary, is keeping the public informed on progress in implementing the state's recently adopted constitution. It points out in a recent release that many of the provisions of the document, the new court system, for instance, are not yet in operation. The same holds true of state administrative reorganization and reform of local government. "The old state and local governments that we had before the new constitution was written are still filling in the gap," says the release. "The new constitution's savings and efficiency won't really begin to show up for a good many months yet. . . . The citizens' job wasn't finished with that constitution vote last fall."

The Civic Council of the Milwaukee City Club, Howard L. Peck, chairman, has issued a "Civic Program for Milwaukee" which is "selective rather than inclusive and sets up general principles considered of prime importance." The points listed are: Functional consolidation in Milwaukee County, reorganization of the county and city government, development of the master plan, a comprehensive permanent improvement and financing program, lake front exclusively for lake front purposes, extending city limits, and a just share of legislative representation for Milwaukee city and county.

An informal group of political scientists in Washington, D. C., has been holding meetings to discuss governmental problems of the District of Columbia and the legislation now before Congress to give the city home rule. Elwyn A. Mauck is secretary.

Citizens of North Providence, Rhode

Island, have formed a Committee to Study the Forms of Town Government, Norman I. Turner, chairman. The group is investigating the councilmanager plan.

Publications, Studies, Reports Issued by Civic Groups

Cambridge-A Great Place to Come Home to, issued by the Cambridge Civic Association, in connection with its recent councilmanic campaign, is one of the best pieces to come our way. The story of Cambridge's civic revival, its six years of progress under Plan E (council-manager plan with P. R.) is told via a conversation between a returning GI and the taxi driver bringing him from the station to his Cambridge home. "I never thought I'd see the day when a city would be run like a business," the soldier says finally as the cabbie points out repaved streets, veterans' housing units, playgrounds, a passing police cruiser, the modernized city hospital, commenting meanwhile on the steady reduction of the tax rate.

Ten Points to Progress, a folder of the Augusta (Georgia) Citizens Union, Reginald Maxwell, president, itemizes the organization's program: city-county consolidation, combined city-county building if the old courthouse is razed, study of the present hospital, full registration of voters, improvement of Augusta streets, reassessment of all real estate, clearance of slums, smoke abatement, incorporation of outlying districts without adequate services with Augusta their incorporation into "districts" for making contracts with the city for municipal services and, last but not least, an informed citizenry.

Report of the Second National Conference on Citisenship, (104 pages, 50 cents) may be secured from its publishers, the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The conference was held in Boston in May 1947 and was sponsored by the Citizenship Committee and the Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education of the National Education Association, with the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice.

The San Francisco Planning and Housing Association, Donn Emmons, president, has published Blight and Taxes, a sixteen-page, slick-paper illustrated brochure contrasting two sections of the city—the Marina district with its pleasant surroundings and comfortable homes and the decayed Geary-Fillmore district with its poverty, disease and squalor. Statistics for the two communities on fire costs, arrests, juvenile delinquency and disease are compared.

The New Look in Pittsburgh, a sixpage folder illustrated in blue and yellow, issued by the United Smoke Council of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, Park H. Martin, executive director, reports that Pittsburgh received 39 per cent more sunshine this winter because of the city's efforts to combat "smog."

Two articles by Hartley W. Barclay, appearing in the New York Times, "Depression-Proofing a City—Pittsburgh Cited for Leadership," describing efforts of Pittsburgh to "rebuild and to try to make itself depression-proof," have been reprinted as a small pamphlet by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce.

The proceedings of the September 1947 Conference on the Citizens Participation in Public Affairs, held under the auspices of the American Bar Association, American Political Science Association and the School of Law of New York University, are now available (176 pages, New York University School of Law).

An article on the council-manager plan, containing a summary of its growth, a chart of its operation, and arguments for and against the plan, was published in *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, Paul N. Reynolds, executive director.

"A Challenge to Good Citizens," appearing in Men and Events, organ of the Union League Club of Chicago, Edward M. Martin, editor, is an interview by President Frank C. Rathje of the league with Erwin W. Roemer, president of the Chicago Bar Association. Discussed is the role of the judiciary and the changes in the method of selecting judges advocated by the bar association.

Houses for Family Living (52 pages, twenty cents each in quantities of fifteen or more), by Frederick Gutheim, illustrated by Dong Kingman, has been published by the Woman's Foundation, Inc., 10 East 40th Street, New York City.

The Minneapolis Taxpayers Association, George Bestrom, executive vice president and manager, has issued its 1948 Tax Calendar for Minneapolis and Minnesota (twelve pages).

The Rotary Club of Chicago has published a report of its Youth Service Committee, compiled by James W. Gilman, Chicago's Teen-Age Canteens (23 pages, 50 cents).

Annual Reports

The Annual Report of the Citizens Union of the City of New York (six pages) sets forth the past year's accomplishments in capsule form. Objectives for 1948 are also listed. It has also issued a twelve-page leaflet aptly illustrating its service to the voters. The union, of which George H. Hallett, Jr., is secretary, regularly has a representative at state legislative sessions as well as at city council meetings.

The Annual Report for 1947 of the Hamilton County Good Government League, Majory J. O'Hara, executive secretary (ten pages, mimeographed), starts off with a chart showing the league's organization and stating its purpose, "To discuss matters of civic importance and to advance good government." Listed are officials, meetings and activities of committees, topics of weekly radio broadcasts—"Cincinnati's Town Meeting of the Air," and activities of the Young Voters Group.

The Annual Report of the President of the Central Atlanta Improvement Association, Clark E. McDonald, executive vice president, reports as one of its 1947 activities "a drive toward the annexation of densely populated sections to the north of Atlanta and to assist in any way the state legislature in the preparation of its annexation bill." It succeeded in getting a bill through the legislature but was unsuccessful in securing a favorable popular vote on the measure. Other activities included a clean-up campaign and work on planning and parking.

Newspaper Editorial Bears Fruit

Organization of the Dallas County Citizens' Association on May 12 was a direct result of a provocative editorial appearing in the Garland, Texas, News. A statement of eight purposes, drafted by a committee headed by W. H. Bradfield, publisher of the News, was read and approved at the organization meeting, attended by representatives of all parts of the county. It was suggested also that a research unit of the new organization be formed to make thorough studies of courthouse practices.

Titled "A New Broom Needed," the editorial declared that: "The tax-paying citizen voter of Dallas County today faces a difficult problem. For

years he has heard rumors and whisperings of the doings of the 'Courthouse Ring.' . . . Now the citizen must decide what to do about it. . . . The News believes the change can be effected by an organization that will serve the citizen as the Better Business Bureau serves the businessman. Such an organization-perhaps called the Good Government Association-could easily give the citizen the good government he wants, pays for and is entitled to. . . . The association should function continuously to see that the citizen's county business is run as efficiently as is the citizen's household or private business."

The Dallas Morning News reprinted the editorial, heartily endorsing its neighbor's suggestion. "It is high time that everyone interested in Dallas County's welfare—and that should be all of us—looks into the possibility of drafting capability to run the county's business. Publisher William H. Bradfield has something there."

Community Improvement

A Workshop in Community Action, conducted by the School of Education of New York University in cooperation with the New York State Citizens' Council, will be held at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, July 7-23, 1948. Four sections include: Dvnamics of Community Behavior, Experiments in Community Action, the School in Community Life and Techniques of Community Research. Baker Brownell of Northwestern University is director of the workshop staff; other staff members include Frederick T. Rope, Rhea M. Eckel and Ellen D. Mattinson, all of the New York State Citizens' Council; Edward C. Solomon of Sarah Lawrence College and Harvey W. Zorbaugh of New York University. All persons, lay and professional, are eligible to join the workshop.

A Conference on the Community for the Northeast Region is being arranged by the Council for Democracy, James E. Greer, executive director. Meeting at Princeton University June 25-27, the conference has as its purpose "to develop feasible methods of creating and maintaining citizens' councils for over-all community development."

A Town Management Conference, held May 28 in Boston, was sponsored by the Community Development Committee of the New England Council, Alan McClennen, secretary. Speakers included Professor Morris B. Lambie of Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration, and Bernal B. Allen, city manager of Auburn, Maine. The afternoon session was devoted to "a review of problems in citizen participation and organization for modern adminstrative procedure."

With civic, business and professional leaders in attendance, the National Council for Community Improvement. Carroll M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America. president, held its first conference in Washington, D. C., May 24-26. Purposes of the conference, said Thomas H. Beck, chairman of the Board of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company and presiding official for the conference, is "to give impetus to increasing interest in sound community development programs. We wish to help our communities become more self-reliant and put themselves in position to meet effectively any situation or emergency that may arise."

Progress Report

Public Personnel Notes, bulletin of the Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois, Harry W. Knight, president, devotes an issue to the "evolution of personnel administration in government since 1882"-the year the association was founded. The Chicago Civil Service Commission has received \$52.-000 more than it originally requested for its 1948 budget, reports the bulletin. so that salaries may be increased, its examination program strengthened. and position classification initiated. The association gives credit for this to the civil service commissioners, the city's budget director and other city officials who gave special attention to the problem, as well as to the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, the League of Women Voters and itself.

Advisory Council

"The advisory council of the Fort Wayne (Indiana) Civic Association," reports that group's News Letter, Lee J. Ninde, editor, "will consist of a representative from each of the neighborhood groups and organizations which affiliate with the civic association. It will meet once a month and discuss both local and citywide problems." Each neighborhood group will choose an advisory committee of three, the chairman of which will be its official representative in the advisory council. "Through an advisory council," continues the News Letter, "the whole community can express well considered opinions on public projects for the enlightenment of public officials, can advise with each other on local problems, organize a speakers' bureau," etc.

The association, which has been devoting much thought to planning, zoning and kindred topics, listened to Major General U. S. Grant, III, president of the American Planning and Civic Association, as guest speaker at its seventh annual dinner early in May.

Daytona Beach 'Cleans Up'

A clean-up program sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, Harry R. Hall, executive manager, is under way in Daytona Beach, Florida. A sprightly folder, well illustrated, discusses garbage and trash disposal, pest control and the appearance of vacant lots and the beach. As to homes, "paint outside to please our visitors, paint inside to please yourself." "Dress Up Daytona Beach—Do it Now," is the chamber's concluding admonition.

Strictly Personal

Members of the Cambridge Civic Association have presented a sterling silver box to their retiring president, George A. McLaughlin, pioneer worker for Plan E in Cambridge and recently elected as president of the Massachusetts Plan E Association. The box, presented by Mrs. George Howard Parker, a former CCA president, will be inscribed with the initials of some of the original participants in the Plan E movement. The association's new president is Donald C. Spencer.

Wayne E. Huson, first president of the Yonkers Municipal League, organized about a year ago, has been reelected to that office by the league's board of directors. James H. Moseley and Frederick W. Maxwell have been elected vice presidents; Isidor Sack, treasurer; and Bertha W. Smith, secretary.

At its seventeenth annual meeting, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association paid special honor to **A. R. Everson**, who has been the organization's executive vice president since its founding. Donald R. Stevens, past president of the association, presented a gold watch to Mr. Everson at a surprise ceremony and commended him on his service.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. for Presidential Electoral Votes Advances

Amendment Reported by Congressional Committees

A PROPOSED amendment to the United States constitution, to provide that electoral votes of each state be credited to presidential and vice-presidential candidates in proportion to the votes they actually receive in the popular election, is at last making progress in Congress. The proposal would abolish the Electoral College but would retain the present electoral vote strength of the states.

House Joint Resolution 9, which embodies this proposed amendment, was favorably reported without a dissenting vote by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Representative Ed Gossett of Wichita Falls, Texas, introduced the present measure. Authors of earlier measures along the same lines are Representative Clarence F. Lea of Santa Rosa, California, who introduced such a resolution nearly twenty years ago and was the author of H. J. Res. 124, identical with the present measure, at the last session, and Representatives Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, New York, Estes Kefauver of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Bertrand W. Gearhart of Fresno, California. Mr. Gearhart is a Republican, the others Democrats.

In the Senate a corresponding measure, introduced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, has also been favorably reported, six to one, by the Committee on the Judiciary.

In his remarks on March 16, reported in the *Congressional Record*, Senator Lodge said that he was introducing Senate Joint Resolution 200 as a substitute for S. J. Res. 91, which proposed election of the president and vice president by direct popular vote. He said he still preferred the direct popular vote proposal but was substituting the proportional electoral vote resolution in order to permit united effort by the members of both houses of Congress who believe in the reform of the presidential election system.

The House committee report on H. J. Res. 9, the remarks of Representative Lea last June and July, and the remarks of Senator Lodge on March 16 are all eloquent in pointing out the unfairness and erratic operation of the present system and in outlining the improvements to be gained by the proposed system.

Representative Lea pointed out that although the several states are free to adopt any method of selecting presidential electors, the view has long prevailed that so long as some states provide for their entire electoral vote to be cast for the candidate having a statewide plurality, it is a matter of political self-defense for others to seek to enhance their weight by keeping a similar provision. The committee report on H. J. Res. 9 analyzes the result of this practice as follows:

In effect, under the present system, minority votes are counted for the leading candidate within a state regardless of how they may have been cast. For example, in 1944 Governor Dewey received 2,997,586 popular votes in the State of New York, yet all of the votes in the State of New York were counted for Mr. Roosevelt. In other words, nearly 3,000,000 Republicans in the State of New York were compelled to vote for Mr. Roosevelt.

velt. It is interesting to note that in this same campaign, while Governor Dewey received no electoral votes for the almost 3,000,000 popular votes cast for him in the State of New York, he did receive 62 electoral votes from 2,663,484 votes cast for him in ten other states.

Representative Lea's remarks give two reasons for thinking that the proportional electoral vote proposal might trave a better chance of adoption than the proposal of election by direct propular vote.

One is the fact that the electoral vote of a state includes an allotment equal to its representation in the House of Representatives, which is in proportion to population, and an additional allotment of two corresponding to its two esenators. This arrangement increases occasiderably the political weight of the sparsely settled states, although the effect over the whole nation is not so large as to be likely to elect a minority president as has happened three times under the present system.

The second factor is that direct popular vote would, by making all votes equal, decrease the relative strength of the states in which a smaller proportion of the population takes part in the voting. Representative Lea cited figures showing a great disparity in this factor, the major difference being the relatively low vote in the states having large disfranchised Negro populations.

Because the present proposal does not disturb these advantages possessed by a considerable number of states, it apparently has a better chance of being ratified by the legislatures or conventions of three-fourths of the states as required by the constitution for its amendment. P. R. Election Gives Italy First One-party Majority

Italy's second postwar P. R. election has resulted in a realignment and concentration of parties, with Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party obtaining a slight majority, 53.5 per cent, of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies with 48.7 per cent of the popular vote. De Gasperi's government is now in a strong parliamentary position because the Communist-led Popular Front obtained but 31.7 per cent of the seats and all remaining groups are, like de Gasperi's party, strongly anti-Communist.

The Christian Democrats did not obtain as much proportional strength in the Senate, which is a partially appointive body, but with other anti-Communists it has enough strength in that body to have working control there too.

Comparison of the election with the previous election, held March 2, 1946, shows a rise in the strength of the Christian Democratic party, which was already the largest in 1946 with 35.4 per cent of the popular vote and 37.2 per cent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Socialist party, which obtained 20.7 per cent of the vote in 1946, was

*See the Review, July 1946, page 372.

¹Although the Italian list system of P. R. makes elaborate provision for giving each party its full share of the members, a few votes cast for unsuccessful independents and very small parties remain ineffective, there being no provision for transfer of votes across party lines to the voters' next choices as under the Hare system of P. R. used in English-speaking countries. This, together with minor inequalities in districting, explains the slight discrepancy between votes cast and seats won. The Christian Democratic party presumably had a clear majority of the votes cast for parties with enough votes to deserve any separate representation.

split in the period between the two elections as the result of dissatisfaction of a large faction of the party with Communist policy and with the pro-Communist attitude of some Socialist leaders. The anti-Communist "right wing" Socialists polled 7.1 per cent of the vote at the recent election, while the remainder voted with the Communists (who had 18.9 per cent of the vote in 1946) for a single list of candidates, Popular Front, which obtained 30.7 per cent of the vote.

Since the election another faction of the Socialists has become dissatisfied with the apportionment of places between Communists and Socialists on the combined list (an inherent difficulty of combined lists of which the Communists have taken great advantage in countries where they have been able to impose this device upon other groups by duress) and another split in the Socialist group seems to be in prospect.

Although the Communists and their allies lost more by their isolation and by consolidation of their rivals than they lost by decline in total vote, there was a remarkable decline in Communist and pro-Communist votes in the industrial northern part of the country, where the Communists formerly possessed their greatest strength. This was considerably offset by an in-

crease in the vote for the Communistled Popular Front in the poorer agricultural sections of southern Italy and Sicily.

The method of counting votes used in the Italian P. R. system, as described in recent press dispatches, shows it to be a combination of familiar list system features with a few novelties of its own. The voter casts his ballot for one or another of lists of candidates entered by the various parties. A voter may express his preference for one or more candidates within the list he selects, but not for more than 10 per cent of the seats assigned to the constituency in which he votes.

There are 32 constituencies and, except for one single-seat district, each is initially assigned from seven to 36 deputies, according to its population. Parties which present lists of candidates in at least six constituencies may also present lists of not more than 31 candidates for nation-wide contest.

When the votes are counted, seats are allotted to the parties in each constituency on the basis of a quotient obtained by dividing the total number of votes cast in each constituency

^aSee New York Herald Tribune, April 11.

ITALIAN NATIONAL ELECTION, 1948

Party	Per Cent			Per Cent
	Votes* .	Votes	Seats*	Seats
Christian Democrats	12,751,841	48.7	307	53.5
Popular Front	8,025,999	30.7	182	31.7
Right-wing Socialist	1,860,528	7.1	33	5.7
National Bloc	1,100,156	3.8	18	3.1
Monarchists	729,987	2.8	14	2.4
Republicans	650,413	2.5	9	1.5
Others	1,144,052	4.4	11	1.9

^{*}As reported in the New York Times, April 22, 1948.

wy the number of seats plus one or wwo, according to whether the contrituency has less or more than 20 eats assigned to it. When this quotient is then divided into the number of votes cast by each party, the rerult is the number of seats won by each party in that constituency.

Seats and votes left over are put prate the contest between the nationwide lists of the various parties. The proportionment of seats in the nationwide contest is made in the same manwer as in the constituencies, except that any remainder seats are discributed to parties with the largest aumbers of votes left over.

The seats won by each list go to the sarticular candidates on it who have seceived most individual preferences from the party's voters.

oays P. R. Vindicated by Italian Elections

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The letter to the editor published below, from Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York, appeared in the New York Times of May 3.

The gratifying results of the Italian election show how wrong you were in your editorial attack of April 19 on Italy's use of proportional representation.

In spite of much evidence to the contrary, you have persistently held that P. R. regularly tends to break up the electorate into small groups and to make stable government difficult. Yet Italy has now given a parliamentary majority to a single party, and this happened under a system of P. R.

There have been very few such instances in European history regardless of election methods but Sweden a few years ago gave a majority of seats in its parliament to a single party, and that also happened under P. R. It never happened there before P. R. was adopted. Eire (Ireland), under a better form of P. R. similar to the one we lost last fall in New York, has given a single party a majority of the seats nearly all the time since 1933. Northern Ireland also had a one-party majority under P. R. France, the country usually cited as the worst example of blocs and parliamentary difficulties, had its worst trouble in that line before P. R. was recently adopted.

P. R. Countries

In your editorial you made the astonishing statement that proportional representation "has proved to be a grave-digger of most democracies on the European continent." In refutation, it is only necessary to remind you that Eire, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have all had P. R. for national elections for the last quarter-century or more, with the exception of the period of German occupation of some of them.

Of the countries that have gone behind the iron curtain, some used to have P. R., but it was their propinquity to Russia, not any election method, which spelled their doom. Those without P. R. fared no better. The one country close to Russia which is still valiantly holding out is Finland, which has P. R. Czechoslovakia's mistake was not in giving the Communist minority its proportionate share of the seats, since as the largest party Communists might well have elected more without P. R., but in letting that minority take charge of the police and other key administrative posts.

Without P. R. the Communist party might have elected more in Italy. Since it turned out not to be the (Continued on page 343)

County and Township

Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Studies Seek Solution to County Problems

Intergovernmental Relations and Consolidations Discussed

FOUR recent pamphlets relate to the problems of county government and organization. Though they were issued by separate organizations, and the purposes behind their publication differed, improvement and strengthening of the county were common goals.

Grass Roots: A Report and an Evaluation¹ is an attempt by the Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations to measure the results of the activities of local councils studying the relationships of federal, state and local agencies within their borders: Santa Clara County, California; Blue Earth County, Minnesota; Henry County, Indiana; Colquitt County, Georgia; and Skagit County, Washington.²

The beliefs of the federal council were formulated and adopted in the following resolution:

"(1) That control over local affairs and local government has gradually been more and more centralized into the state and federal governments:

"(2) That, unless checked, this gradual drift will continue;

"(3) That the rapid expansion of government has confused the minds of people at the grass roots and there is no clear-cut understanding as to what phases of government should properly and profitably be federal, state or local;

"(4) That, unless clarified and the trend reversed, it may eventually undermine democratic government;

"(5) That this gradual centralization of authority and control has been due in part to the feeling, by those at the top and in control, that the people at the local level are not capable of handling the problems which arise:

"(6) That the council does not believe this to be true. It believes that the feeling has arisen not as a result of the incapacity of the people but rather it is due to the absence of interagency coordination at the local level and a positive citizen interest and participation in the direction of 'our government';

"(7) That greater responsibility for operating and improving government services should rest in the hands of persons at the local level."

Grass Roots describes the problems and activities of the councils in each of the five experimental counties in considerable detail. It attempts to evaluate their accomplishments up to September 1947, the date of publication of the report.

Continuation Recommended

To secure an impartial appraisal the council secured the services of Dr. Rowland Egger, of the University of Virginia, who visited each of the counties and discussed the program with more than 100 persons. Dr. Egger concluded in part:

"It is my considered opinion that both the accomplishments and the promise of the council's program merit the expenditure of maximum effort to sustain the undertaking and to broaden its experimental base. . . .

"As I have viewed the work in the experimental areas it has seemed clear

¹Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C. 53 pages.

^aFor further information on some of these councils see: the Review, February 1946, page 90; April 1946, page 206; November 1946, pages 540 and 551; April 1947, page 194; July 1947, page 414; and October 1947, page 535.

that the approach to problems of community organization and administration through the avenue of intergovernmental relations has attracted an extraordinary degree of talent, ability and application in the work of the local councils on intergovernmental relations. I am convinced that a program combining the intellectual challenge and the practical opportunity presented by the local councils offers a highly significant basis for the organization of the moral and intellectual forces of the community along lines of sustained constructive common endeavor. . . .

"There is an atmosphere of tough realism tempered with fairly sweet reasonableness which has achieved some truly amazing results in the engineering of common consent and support for certain actions which have altered in a very fundamental way prevailing patterns of administrative and political power.

Much Accomplished

"The process of self-education which has gone on inside the local councils, the results of which are quite definitely perceptible in the five experimental communities, has been no mean accomplishment for which the program should be given credit. Some of the council members, and some considerable segments of community opinion, have seen some of their best-beloved and most warmly nourished prejudices pretty well reduced to ashes in the process of the local council's work....

"The intergovernmental relations approach has forced the local councils and the local people to think in functional rather than institutional terms, which has contributed significantly to getting local and state institutional arrangements in their proper pective....

"My recommendations are, in brief, as follows:

"1. The council at the federal level

is fully justified in seeking to continue the experimental program and to expand its base: (a) by securing the establishment of additional experimental areas; (b) by assisting existing local councils to pursue their work on certain basic problems to which their efforts to date have actually been preliminary.

"2. While the principal needs in connection with the program are for the continuation of the staff at the federal level and the expansion of the technical facilities which it should provide in assistance of the local councils. the fact that local funds are to some extent available for the maintenance of the local councils does not, in my judgment, justify at this time the discontinuance of assistance from council at the federal level to the local councils, although support may be substantially reduced. . . .

"3. If the council at the federal level continues its policy of 'noninterference' in the processes by which the local councils work out their programs and procedures, operations for clearance and consultation among the local councils should be greatly strengthened, since there is now probably sufficient available experience for the 'co-equals' to work out programs and procedures without the substantial wastes of effort which have sometimes been encountered to date. . . .

"4. Considerably more attention and money should, in my opinion, now be directed toward the provision of adequate technical 'backstopping' for the

local councils. . . .

"5. The entire project would, think, be considerably strengthened if its philosophical roots reached a little deeper. The confession of faith promulgated by the council at the federal level, under the title 'What the Council Believes,' is a step in the direction of establishing an ideological substructure for the program, but developments have long since outrun the substance of this document."

A Practical Basis for Developing Better Intergovernmental Relations describes the activities of the Santa Clara County, California, Council on Intergovernmental Relations under the sponsorship of the Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations. After a survey of all governmental activities in Santa Clara County, the local council reached the following conclusions:

Santa Clara Recommendations

- 1. Because of general lack of public interest in government affairs and because of demands for legislation from small groups of citizens, the local, state and federal governments gradually have built up a system of public services which have become duplicative and overlapping in many fields. Wherever possible, offices performing similar or identical services should be located close together in order to provide greater convenience to both private citizens and public officials. If such functional grouping of government services reveals unnecessary duplication, consideration should be given to possible consolidation of such functions.
- 2. Lack of coordination between various units and levels of government results in waste of the taxpayers' money, confusion in the minds of citizens and gaps in public services.
- 3. Intergovernmental coordination depends in part upon the willingness of persons working for different branches or levels of government but performing similar public services to seek methods by which gaps can be filled and wasteful duplication eliminated.
- 4. The greatest incentive to bringing about better intergovernmental re-

- lations is increase in citizen interest. Improvement in intergovernmental coordination, which has been the function of the Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, must become a continuing process if results are to have lasting value.
- 5. Citizens should be furnished with complete, accurate and timely information on every important problem of government. When fully informed by the press and other media, citizens display an increased interest in government affairs, which results in more intelligent conclusions in this field.
- 6. Cooperation between local units of government (county and municipal) is the first essential of good intergovernmental relations.
- 7. When the citizens' committee in any community determines that local government is able to assume greater responsibilities, the representatives of local government should be given a stronger voice in determining how local problems are to be handled by state and federal agencies maintaining offices in the community.
- 8. Proximity of offices to one another encourages good intergovernmental relations and makes possible the improvement of services rendered to the public. A government center simplifies greatly a citizen's search for the appropriate office to give him desired information or service and tends to reduce public confusion regarding governmental operation.

Maryland Study

Improving Government in Dundalk, by Joseph M. Ray, constitutes the result of a survey conducted at the request of an unincorporated community in Baltimore County, suburban to the city of Baltimore. The report analyzes the structure of the Baltimore county

⁸Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, San Jose, California. 51 pages.

⁴Bureau of Public Administration, University of Maryland, College Park. 53 pages.

government, lists the alternatives from which the unincorporated community might choose its course of action, suggests improvements in the county government which would prove beneficial to all the residents of the county, and finally makes suggestions that would be of especial benefit to the Dundalk community.

Alternatives open to the community include (1) annexation to the city of Baltimore, (2) incorporation as a separate municipality and (3) improved and adequate services from the county. The third course of action appears to the author to be most feasible, and he suggests the following improvements in the county government:

- 1. The county should adopt a home rule charter. Such a proposal was defeated by the voters in 1920.
- 2. The county should have a manager plan to replace the present three-man legislative-executive board.
- 3. The county should adopt a merit system for its employees.
- 4. The county should do a better job of reporting to the people.
- 5. The functions of the water and sewage disposal district should be integrated into the county's administrative structure.
- 6. The county should engage in new functions or expansion of old functions, including those of recreation, street lighting, libraries, public health and training of its employees.

Miami Consolidation

The Truth About City-County Consolidation⁵ is admittedly a campaign document to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment permitting the consolidation of Dade County, Florida, with its municipalities, including the city of Miami. The staff of the Dade County Research Foundation concludes that:

- 1. There are too many governments in Dade County and there is urgent need for consolidation of city and county under a home rule charter.
- 2. The public works program cannot be executed unless a strong and unified government is adopted
- 3. The arguments in favor outweigh those against consolidation.
- 4. The proposed amendment, despite its defects, is basically sound and workable.
- 5. The question of its constitutionality should be settled as quickly as possible.
- 6. The provision for the continuous appointment of additional charter boards until finally a new charter is adopted should be invalidated.
- 7. Great care should be taken to draft the best possible charter.
- 8. If the present plan is defeated, renewed efforts to secure a new charter should be undertaken.

To support their conclusions, the authors examine and summarize briefly the experiences elsewhere in city-county consolidation. Also they trace the movement in Dade County and analyze minutely the provisions of the proposed amendment. They describe the effects that would result from adoption of the plan, and, in conclusion, they list with approval the arguments in favor of the plan and answer those advanced by the opposition.

County Finances 1946 Published by Census Bureau

The latest publication on county government issued by the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, is an eleven-page pamphlet, Summary of County Government Finances in 1946. In a series of seven tables it reveals that county governments experienced sharp changes in revenue and expenditure during 1946. General revenue of counties rose 14.5 per cent from the

^{*}Dade County Research Foundation, Miami, Florida. 55 pages, \$1.

1945 level as contrasted with 7.4 per cent for cities and 7.0 per cent for states. The rise in general expenditure of counties was 16.0 per cent, as compared with 9.9 per cent for cities and 6.6 per cent for states. County debt had decreased slightly during the year.

The report relates primarily to nation-wide totals of data for county government finances. A companion report, Large County Finances in 1946, previously reported in this section, gave individual county data for the 56 largest counties—those having 1940 populations over 250,000. The present report is based on a representative sample of county governments throughout the nation.

General revenue of the 3,050 county governments totaled \$1,970,000,000 in 1946, as compared with \$1,720,000,000 in 1945. This increase of 14.5 per cent is in contrast with the increase of only 3.9 per cent between 1944 and 1945. County governments spent \$1,967,000,000 in 1946, as compared with \$1,696,000,000 the year before. This increase of 16.0 per cent contrasts with the increase of only 4.1 per cent between 1944 and 1945.

Although there was a sharp increase in the amount of new debt issued during 1946, this was not sufficient to halt the downward trend in county indebtedness. Gross debt outstanding at the close of 1946 amounted to \$1,463,000,000, or 4.4 per cent less than the \$1,531,000,000 outstanding at the close of 1945.

The 56 largest counties (those with populations over 250,000) accounted for nearly 30 per cent of the 1946 revenue and expenditure of all county governments. Nearly another 30 per cent was accounted for by the next 367 counties (those with populations from 50,000 to 250,000). Thus 40 per cent was accounted for by the remaining 2,627 small counties.

Statistics presented in the report are based on information obtained in a survey covering nearly one-third of the 3,050 county governments in the nation. National aggregates and state totals are derived by sampling methods. Financial data for the selected counties were obtained from (1) county data on file with state agencies, (2) census mail questionnaires filled out by officials of the selected counties, and (3) published or unpublished reports of individual counties. For a few states, statewide totals for county revenue, expenditure and debt were obtained from state sources. Where thus available, such totals were substituted for the totals estimated from the sample.

Wisconsin Codifies
County Law

The Wisconsin Legislative Council, the attorney general's office, the revisor of statutes and the counties are undertaking the codification of the county laws of the state. The plan has developed as a result of a recommendation made to the recent session of the state legislature by the County Boards Association.

Texas County Adopts Retirement Plan

The commissioners of Travis County, Texas, have placed into operation the retirement, death and disability compensation plan approved by the voters last August. Under the plan all appointive employees who desire to become members of the system will have 5 per cent of their salaries deducted monthly and the county government will contribute an equal amount to the fund.

Wisconsin Counties Lag in Joining Retirement System

Although an estimated 75 per cent of all eligible local government employees are now members of the Wis-

¹See the Review, March 1948, page 173.

consin Municipal Retirement Fund, only 33 of Wisconsin's 71 counties have joined to the present time. The 38 remaining counties represent the principal lag in joining the system, although for the most part they are the smaller counties. Some of them have expressed a preference for joining the federal social security system if permitted to do so under legislation now pending in Congress.

Satevepost Urges County Reform

The Saturday Evening Post published an editorial in a recent issue entitled "We Must Not Neglect Our Local Governments" in which it urged the need for public interest in improving county government throughout the country.

South Carolina County to Vote on Manager Plan

The voters of Charleston County, South Carolina, will have an opportunity on September 14 to vote on three alternatives in regard to the structure of their county government. Plan A embodies the manager plan and the transfer of considerable financial authority from the county's delegation in the state legislature to the manager and county council. Plan B provides for an elective council of eleven but with its actions subject to the approval of the state legislature, which, because of the practice of "legislative courtesy," means approval by the county's legislative delegation. The third alternative to be presented to the voters will be the retention of the present system whereby full control over county affairs is exercised by the county's legislative delegation. A majority of the votes cast at the election is necessary for adoption of either Plan A or B.

PROPORTIONAL

REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 337)

largest party there, the odds are somewhat against it, but there are plenty of instances under the district plurality plan of a smaller party electing more than a larger one merely because its votes were more favorably distributed in districts. When we were looking forward to the crucial Italian elections, one of the most reassuring aspects of the situation was the assurance given by P. R. that no electoral fluke could possibly give the Communists and their allies a majority of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies unless they actually polled something closely approaching a majority of the votes.

On one point you seem to take a self-contradictory view! You deplore the fact that one-third of the Italian Senate is appointive; you deplore that feature, I assume, as I do, because it could prevent Senate representation from being proportional!

The party list system of P. R. used in Italy and elsewhere in Europe is sounder than any plurality system but inferior to the more flexible P. R. system used in America which permits second and third choices across party lines.

Jackson County, Missouri, Commission Studies P. R.

The Charter Commission framing a new charter for Jackson County, Missouri, which includes Kansas City, is considering proportional representation as the method of electing the county's legislative body. The Kansas City Star reported on April 12 that, "The commission especially will look into the plan to see if it might offer a guarantee against suppression of minority interests by machine domination of the county government."

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Taxation and Finance.

· Edited by Wade S. Smith

New Orleans Plans Union Railway Terminal

Elimination of Grade Grossings Provided

FEW American cities have a single union railroad passenger terminal and almost none lack serious grade crossing problems. The city of New Orleans, however, has just launched a program which will put it in a unique position in the solution of these problems. Through a municipal agency it is starting construction of a union passenger terminal and is undertaking at city expense an ambitious program of grade crossing separations.

The program was authorized by a constitutional amendment adopted in 1938. This amendment gave the city permission to issue \$15,000,000 revenue bonds to construct a union passenger terminal, to require the use of the terminal by passenger-carrying railroads entering the city and make charges for such use sufficient to meet the cost of construction and operation. The city was authorized to include such grade separation projects as desirable and to issue tax-supported bonds to finance them. After long study and negotiations, agreement was reached between the city and the railroads late last year.

The program proposed is expected to cost over \$42,000,000. Of this, a little over \$18,000,000 is the cost of the union terminal of which \$15,000,000 has been raised by the sale of the revenue bonds (awarded April 28, 1948, at a net interest cost of approximately 2.731 for bonds due through 1998), the remainder to be provided by the railroads. Another \$18,900,000 will be provided by the city for grade separation projects, \$12,000,000 of it with proceeds of gen-

eral obligation bonds authorized by the voters April 15, 1947, nearly \$5,000,000 from funds to be raised in annual budgets at the rate of \$500,000 per year, and the rest from reserves, reimbursements and federal highway aid credits.

In addition, the railroads will provide about \$3,000,000 for various of the grade separation improvements involved and about \$2,500,000 representing overpass construction will be paid for by the Louisiana State Highway Department.

Five Terminals Replaced

The union passenger terminal will replace five scattered terminals now used by the eight trunk-line railroads serving the city which, with the New Orleans Terminal Company, have jointly and severally guaranteed rentals adequate to operate the terminal and pay service charges on the revenue bonds. The railroads are the Illinois Central, Louisville and Nashville, Texas and New Orleans, New Orleans and Northwestern, Texas and Pacific, Louisiana and Arkansas, Missouri Pacific, and Gulf, Mobile and Ohio.

Management of the terminal will be vested in a special committee of representatives having an aggregate of 37 votes: three exercised directly by the city, three by representatives appointed by a city agency (the Public Belt Railroad Commission), nine by the railroads directly, and the remaining 22 distributed among the railroads on a user basis.

The grade separation project will provide for elimination of about 82 of the nearly 150 grade crossings now to be found away from the river front area, and at the same time railroad yards and lines will be rearranged or relocated, with some facilities aban-

doned and the land cleared and new construction substituted.

While municipal docks, wharves and water cargo terminals are common in salt water and inland port cities of the United States, the New Orleans venture is said to be the first instance of municipal union passenger railroad serminal.

Malifornia Legislature Raises Local Aids

The California legislature met in 1948, the first time in regular session in an even-numbered year, with its business restricted to the state budget and emergency matters. It adopted two laws aiding local governments financially and defeated several regarded by the cities as detrimental.

One law directly assisting cities traised the auto in lieu tax from \$1.75 per \$100 to \$2. The lower rate had been in effect since the establishment of the tax in 1935, and represented a tax on automobiles at half the average general property tax rate in effect in all California units. Since the valuation is the delivered price of the car, however, reduced annually in accordance with a legally established depreciation schedule, it actually represented a tax at the average rate in effect at that time.

Yield of the tax, half of which is distributed to the cities on the basis of population, has increased sharply since the end of the war, rising from less than \$20,000,000 in 1946 to about \$30,000,000 in 1947 and an estimated \$40,000,000 for 1948.

Another law of benefit to the communities appropriates \$50,000,000 from the state general fund for a local school building program. Last year \$20,000,000 had been appropriated for capital improvements of school districts. This year's appropriation had been urged by the governor to be made from the \$90,000,000 state aid fund for

capital improvements of cities and counties, but the legislature left the city-county funds intact.

Bills defeated which were regarded by the cities as inimical to their fiscal welfare included one to reduce automobile registration fees by half and several bills which would have prohibited cities from levying local sales taxes or would have hedged that right with restrictions.

Small Washington Cities Form Joint Retirement System

Acting under 1947 legislation, seven small Washington cities established a retirement plan, effective March 1, set up on an actuarial basis. The cities were Aberdeen, Bellingham, Malden, Port Angeles, Raymond, Sumner and Yakima.

The system is administered by a retirement board appointed by the governor and including representatives of both the cities and their employees. Cities and employees both participate in the financing of the program.

Roanoke Loses Realty Tax Case

Efforts of Roanoke, Virginia, to get court sanction for its real estate sales tax of one per cent, which was invalidated last year after nearly \$53,000 had been collected, failed late in April when the Virginia Supreme Court dismissed the city's appeal.

A taxpayer had refused to pay the tax and, in accordance with the terms of the ordinance imposing it, had been fined in the Roanoke Police Court. Judge Kuyk in Roanoke Hustings Court held the tax unconstitutional, however, and dismissed the case. The city's appeal to the State Supreme Court followed. That tribunal refused to hear the case on its merits, ruling that the proceedings were under the criminal law and the city therefore

(Continued on page 352)

Local Affairs Abroad .

· Edited by James E. Gates

National, International Conferences Planned

Canadian Officials Meet, Geneva Meeting Postponed

THE 1948 conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities will be held June 22-25 at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Keynote of the conference is "The Relation of the Municipality to Senior Forms of Government." Topics within this theme include: tax exemption of crown properties, housing, city and town planning, taxation and assessment practices, and traffic and transportation.

Also on the agenda is a discussion of general problems facing municipal administrators. Officials planning to attend have been asked to send in their toughest problems, matters on which they would like to get the experience of other municipal officials, and to tell of solutions to problems which will be of interest to other cities facing similar situations.

The Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities, scheduled to meet in Geneva in June, has been postponed until the spring of 1949 because of the difficulties encountered in completing arrangements and printing reports. The 1949 program will include a round table discussion on refuse disposal, with inspections of the latest type of Swiss collection vehicles, a study of Swiss sanitoria, and visits to housing projects where large buildings have been converted into apartments.

In addition to arrangements for the 1949 conference, plans are under way for the major congress of the union in 1950. Subjects proposed for discussion include the relationship between local

governments and technical services and the functions of local authorities in connection with the housing problem.

The British section of the International Union, at its meetings May 7-8, discussed central heating and the functions of the local authority in the campaign for prevention of road accidents. Great Britain has urged the latter subject for discussion by the 1949 Geneva conference.

Thirty countries are now reported to be affiliated with the International Union of Local Authorities.

The Third Inter-American Congress on Municipal History met April 12-17 at San Juan, Puerto Rico. Mrs. Felisa R. De Gautier, city manager of that city, acted as hostess. Included was an exhibit of American city planning and architecture.

A congress and exhibition of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning is scheduled for Zurich from June 20 to 26.

Bath Questions Value of Conferences

The city council of Bath has instructed its finance committee to inquire into the cost, in working days and money, incurred by attendance of its members and officials at conferences concerned with local government administration. The resolution was introduced by a member of the council who condemned such attendance, saying that "this conference business is a complete farce and racket, taking up too much time."

The intent of the inquiry is to find out whether a council gains from sending its members and officials to such conferences. Plans for the City of Westminster

Substantial changes in London's famous West End are proposed in a newly published report on the replanning of the city of Westminster. Included are plans for making Piccadilly Circus into a square, for installing a new roundabout on the south side of Trafalgar Square, a relief road parallel to the Strand and many other new roads, and the replanning of Parliament Square.

Many of the proposals are a radical departure from the plan of the County of London, but the purpose of the report, the authors state, is "primarily to assist the Westminster city council in making detailed observations on the plan.

London's First Holiday Camp Planned

Work is expected to begin shortly on London's first holiday camp. This municipal project, which is expected to be the biggest recreation and camping scheme ever planned, will cost £150,000, and will provide chalet accommodation for 400, an open-air theater, swimming pool and playing fields. It is to be located at Grange Farm, Chigwell, Essex. Approved in principle by the London and Essex County Councils, it awaits only approval by the Ministry of Education.

At the present time the site is being used for camping under a council of management. This council represents jointly a number of voluntary and statutory interests, including Essex and London County Councils, Chigwell Urban District Council, the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A. of

Great Britain, and the City Parochial Foundation.

Electricity Authority Takes Over

The British Central Electricity Board, set up in 1927, came to an end on April 1. Its functions have now been assumed by the British Electricity Authority which now becomes responsible for the management of electric utilities.

Criterion for Size of a Municipality

A bill introduced in the New South Wales Parliament, which would have amalgamated 69 municipalities in the county of Cumberland to produce only sixteen, has been rejected by the Legislative Council.

An alderman member of the Legislative Council, says the Shire and Municipal Record (Sydney), "pointed out that his little three-year old girl could ride her tricycle round Darlington in two hours. Members showed instant sympathy, for it is patently undesirable that she should be able to do such a thing. The obvious way to stop the alderman's little three-year-old girl from tricycling round Darlington in two hours would be to so enlarge the boundaries of the municipality that she couldn't make it."

It was further suggested by the Shire and Municipal Record that the select committee might easily gauge the desirable minimum of any local authority by visiting each municipality in turn and "any area which the alderman's little three-year-old girl could tricycle round in two hours would be out."

Books in Review

The Lightwood Tree. By Berry Fleming. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947. 378 pp. \$3.

When an experienced novelist goes back to his old home town after being away for years, things which have become as familiar as the front porch to the natives hit him forcefully in his most sensitive spot.

Berry Fleming went home to Augusta, Georgia, a few years ago and was outraged by what he found. The result was a challenging and popular book, Colonel Effingham's Raid, which was a Book of the Month Club choice and later a motion picture, and now The Lightwood Tree.

Readers of the Review who have been following the civic revolt in Augusta through its columns since 1941 will recognize some of the situations involved in this volume, as they did those of the earlier story about the retired army colonel who did battle with a political machine.

In The Lightwood Tree the author depicts with sensitive insight the thanklessness of the task of a citizen who tries to do something about it in a sea of supine helplessness and unawareness. The central incident parallels the true case of the man whom the boss of Augusta jailed without warrant or charge and held incommunicado for 24 hours for making a slurring remark about the politicians of the town.

But the author relates this, by numerous flashbacks, to the discouraging environments that past characters in local history encountered in their day and turns the parallel incidents into a pattern of gutlessness in electorates relieved by occasional leaders who lifted fearless flags and got few thanks. Without blame to anybody, the emerging pattern exhibits the problem as a novel should, without underlining it,

and the book thereby constitutes a penetrating and useful contribution to civics.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report. By Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1948. vi, 52 pp. \$2.

In 1939 the International City Managers' Association published, under a similar title, the collected experience of the city managers on annual reports as a means of interesting citizens and keeping orderly statistics. This is a new edition which includes numerous illustrations and a check-list of nearly 300 facts which might be included in such a report each year. Citizens who find difficulty in looking things up in their cities might be interested to stimulate municipal consideration of standard and orderly reporting as outlined in this revised edition.

R.S.C.

Full Employment in Your Community. A report of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. x, 119 pp. \$2.75.

A thoughtful assemblage of ideas as to what can be done at the local level to mitigate a period of low employment and how to organize for it.

American Planning. Past—Present—Future. By Cleveland Rodgers. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947, xiv. 290 pp. \$3.

A breezy, informal, air-man's eyeview of the United States in terms of how it grew and got that way by an enlightened and imaginative member of New York City's Planning Commission.

Municipal Index and Atlas (22nd Edition). New York 16, American City Magazine Corporation, 1948, 791 pp. \$5.

Lists official council-manager cities and their managers; mayors, city engineers, superintendents of water works. street and sewage treatment departments; purchasing agents in communities of over 10,000 population; police and fire officials; state highway officials: and engineering and municipal planning consultants. Discusses purchasing practices in larger cities. Lists who's who in equipment and supplies for construction and maintenance of streets, highways, airports; water supply and purification; sewage and garbage collection and disposal; lighting and power: fire, police, transit and traffic; parks and playgrounds, swimming pools, recreation; office equipment. Included are maps of the United States and of each of the states.

Presidential Campaign Funds. By Louise Overacker. Boston, Boston University Press, 1946. vii, 76 pp. \$1.50

cloth; \$1 paper.

Although published two years ago, this book is of more than passing interest with the 1948 presidential nomination conventions and campaigns in the offing. In her first chapter, A Problem in Democratic Control, the author comments that "One modern writer has gone so far as to characterize the financing of political campaigns as 'the greatest unsolved problem of democracy.'" Other chapters discuss the "Hatch Act—Limitations Which Do Not Limit" and "Trade Union Contributions."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Courts

The Federal Courts. By John P. Frank, Stefan A. Riesenfeld, John

N. Hazard, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, Law and Contemporary Problems, Winter 1948. 243 pp. \$1.

Education

How Shall We Pay for Education? Approaches to the Economics of Education. By Seymour E. Harris. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1948. vii, 214 pp. \$3.

School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: April 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1948. 12 pp.

Housing

A Housing Program for Now and Later. Washington 5, D. C., National Public Housing Conference, 1948. 60 pp. 25 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

The Municipal Position on Current Issues Involving Intergovernmental Relations. As expressed in resolutions adopted at annual conventions held during 1947 by the state leagues of municipalities and their national federation, the American Municipal Association. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1948, 46 pp. \$2.

Labor

Municipal Mediation Plans. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1947. 16 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1947. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1948. 33 pp.

The Prohibition of Curb Parking. By Charles S. LeCraw, Jr., and Wilbur S. Smith. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1948. 25 pp.

Personnel

Personnel Rules and Regulations. Oxnard, California, City Manager's Office, 1947. 17 pp. You and Your City Job. Cincinnati, Department of Personnel, 1948. 29 pp.

Planning

Colorado State Planning and Zoning Acts and Related Legislation, including Building Codes, Subdivision Control and Urban Redevelopment Laws as of June 1, 1947. Denver 2, University of Denver Bookstore, 1948. 65 pp.

Diary of the Trials and Tribulations of the Seattle Planning Commission. Being Annual Report of 1946-47. Seattle, the Commission, 1947. 13 pp.

Planning 1947. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, American Society of Planning Officials, at Cincinnati, May 5-9, 1947. Chicago 37, the Society, 1948. 192 pp. \$3.

Town of Dedham, Massachusetts, Master Plan, Survey and Report. By Arthur A. Shurcliff and Sidney N. Shurcliff. Dedham, Planning Board, 1947. 93 pp. Illus., tables.

Public Administration

The Administrative State. A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration. By Dwight Waldo. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1948. viii, 227 pp. \$3.25.

The Process and Organization of Government Planning. By John D. Millett. New York, Columbia University Press, 1947. xii, 187 pp. \$2.50.

Public Utilities

Results of Publicly Owned Electric Systems (Ninth Edition). Record of 590 Cities under Public Ownership Rates in Effect 1947-1948. Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1948. 383 pp. \$10.

Public Works

Report on Plan Preparation of State and Local Public Works. Washington, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community Facilities, 1948. 74 pp.

Race Relations

Prejudice and Property. An Historic Brief Against Racial Covenants. By Tom C. Clark and Philip B. Perlman. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1948. 104 pp. \$2 cloth; \$1 paper.

Proceedings of the National Conference on Local Race Relations and Minority Group Problems. Chicago 1, American Council on Race Relations, 1948. 31 pp.

Resources

Tennessee Valley Resources—Their Development and Use. By M. H. Satterfield. Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1947. 145 pp.

Rural Areas

Our Rural Communities. A Guidebook to Published Materials on Rural Problems. By Laverne Burchfield. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. xiii, 201 pp. \$2.50.

Pattern of Rural Settlement. Local Government Units. Joint Investigations Columbia Basin Project. Washington, D.C., United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, 1947. 49 and 259 pp. respectively. 25 cents and 70 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.)

Sewage Disposal

Sewerage and Sewage Treatment (Sixth Edition). By Harold E. Babbitt. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1947. xx, 692 pp. \$6.50.

Slum Clearance

Overall Plan for Redemption of Slum Areas. By Charles C. Pratt. New York, 1947. 6 pp. (Apply author, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17.)

Slum Clearance. Report of a Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Housing, Congress of the United States. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 34 pp.

Slum Land Acquisition. The Pattern of Payments for Land Acquired for Prewar Public Housing Sites. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1947.

Smoke Abatement

Preventing Excess Smoke from Locomotives. (Report on replies to quesconnaire to cities in New York State.)
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TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 345)

lacked a right to appeal. Members of the city council reportedly are considering beginning civil proceedings, in order to secure a State Supreme Court ruling on the merits of the case. No taxes have been collected since the action began.

Constitutional Amendments Submitted in Kentucky

The 1948 session of the General Assembly of Kentucky, which finished its regular 60-day session on March 19, submitted two constitutional amendments to the people for approval. One raises the \$5,000 salary limit as follows: a \$12,000 limit for officers whose jurisdiction is statewide and for the mayor of first class cities (Louisville); \$8,400 limit for circuit (district) judges: and a \$7,200 limit for all other officials. Last November the limit as it related to university and college faculty members was removed by judicial decision on the ground that they are not state officials.

The other amendment would permit an increase of the equalization fund for public schools from 10 per cent to 25 per cent of the amount appropriated by the General Assembly for common school purposes. Both amendments will be voted on in November 1949.

These two constitutional provisions were among the chief issues in the campaign for a constitutional convention which was voted down last November and some opposition is expected to the amendments particularly to the salary limit changes. Leaders of both the proponents and opponents of a convention, however, have promised their support and those who favor constitutional revision will try hard to avoid suffering another defeat.

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